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# ORIGIN AND EARLY PROGRESS

OF THE

Republican Party in the United States,

TOGETHER WITH THE

History of its Formation in Massachusetts:

WITH

## MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

RECURRENCE OF ITS TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY,

CELEBRATED AT MECHANICS' HALL, WORCESTER, SEPT. 15, 1879.

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BY STEPHEN M. ALLEN,

SURVIVING PRESIDING OFFICER OF THE WORCESTER CONVENTION,

HELD JULY 20, 1854.

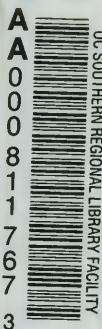
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BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY GETCHELL BROTHERS,

Nos. 4 AND 12 PEARL STREET.

1879.



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TO THE  
WORKINGMEN, ARTISANS AND MERCHANTS  
OF THE UNITED STATES,  
WHOSE BRAIN AND MUSCLE SUPPLIED THE REAL LABOR-  
CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY,  
FOUGHT AND WON THE BATTLES FOR THE UNION,  
AND  
WHOSE LOYALTY JUSTLY ENTITLES THEM TO A  
PROPER SHARE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THAT GOVERNMENT  
TO WHICH THEY PLEDGED THEIR LIVES AND FORTUNES  
IN ITS DARKEST DAYS,  
AND WHICH THEY NOW DETERMINE TO MAINTAIN  
AT ALL HAZARDS,  
These pages are most respectfully dedicated  
BY THE AUTHOR.



## PREFACE.

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THE preparation of the Historical Address by request of the State Central Committee, has been so hasty that there may be found therein many errors which a more careful compilation would have excluded. In the absence of all aid from my colleagues of the Convention of 1854, which it was impossible to get in season to report in print at the Republican State Convention on the 16th instant, I have done the best I could to get together some of the leading facts connected with the first organization, in such form as to give a general idea of its character and effect during the first few years of its existence. I have felt it unwise to cover up, or leave out, some of the real facts connected with the early consolidation of the party which have ever been obnoxious to some of our best supporters, but they are nevertheless facts. The first and sixth resolutions of the September Convention cover all the radical ground I have herein enlarged upon. I am alone responsible for the general sentiments and statements made in my Historical Address, which have not heretofore been made public. I have avoided names as much as possible, in discussing general questions. I believe the Republican party is the party of

progress, and should be able to combine, with proper management, the majority strength of the voters of the country. The difficulties in the commercial world the last few years have given rise to temporary dissensions on the question of Finance, as well as Capital and Labor, which, it is hoped, may be harmonized in the immediate future, so as to secure the great objects of a united party, and its influence in the administration that is to follow. The first meeting called to take into consideration the subject of celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the party, was held at Wesleyan Hall, Boston, June 10, 1879. At that meeting a committee was chosen, of which Hon. Roland Worthington was chairman, with authority to confer with the State Central Committee about the best manner to notice the event, with full authority to take such measures in the premises as they thought best. This committee thinking it best to defer the celebration until the evening before the regular Republican State Convention, it was decided to do so, and the final time was set for September 15, 1879, at Mechanics' Hall, Worcester, where the meeting was held and the addresses were made.

STEPHEN M. ALLEN.

DUXBURY, Mass.,

September, 1879.

# CALL BY THE REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ---  
AN ADDRESS BY THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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ROOMS OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,  
BOSTON, September 6, 1879.

*To the Republicans of Massachusetts :*

You are invited to assemble in mass meeting at Mechanics Hall in Worcester on the evening of Monday, September 15, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the Republican party ; the party which in twenty-five years has abolished slavery ; has subdued a gigantic rebellion ; has added to our national family six young States ; has enforced apology and reparation from Great Britain ; has compelled foreign governments to abandon the doctrine of perpetual allegiance ; has preserved the public faith inviolate ; has paid seven hundred millions of public debt ; has made the national currency equal in value to gold the world over ; has re-established and assured the prosperity of labor, commerce, agriculture and manufacture, and has exhibited for a generation in our own State, a model of wise, honest, humane and economical government.

Let us revive the tender and glorious memories of the past, and take counsel for the duties and triumphs of the future.

Eloquent speakers will be present.

Per order of the Republican State Committee.

EBEN F. STONE, *Chairman.*

EDW. H. HASKELL, *Secretary.*

# 8      CALL BY THE REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The State Central Committee have requested the Republicans of Worcester and vicinity to make arrangements for the celebration.

We ask you to be present, and to give your aid in making the occasion impressive and successful.

|                       |   |   |   |                      |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|----------------------|
| E. B. STODDARD        | . | . | . | of Worcester.        |
| GEORGE F. HOAR        | . | . | . | " "                  |
| W. W. RICE            | . | . | . | " "                  |
| WM. S. B. HOPKINS     | . | . | . | " "                  |
| JOSEPH H. WALKER      | . | . | . | " "                  |
| JOHN D. WASHBURN      | . | . | . | " "                  |
| THOMAS J. HASTINGS    | . | . | . | " "                  |
| J. MARCUS RICE        | . | . | . | " "                  |
| F. T. BLACKMER        | . | . | . | " "                  |
| M. V. B. JEFFERSON    | . | . | . | " "                  |
| J. EVARTS GREENE      | . | . | . | " "                  |
| T. S. JOHNSON         | . | . | . | " "                  |
| F. A. GASKILL         | . | . | . | " "                  |
| S. R. HEYWOOD         | . | . | . | " "                  |
| F. P. GOULDING        | . | . | . | " "                  |
| FRED. W. SOUTHWICK    | . | . | . | " "                  |
| T. C. BATES           | . | . | . | of North Brookfield. |
| A. A. PUTNAM          | . | . | . | of Uxbridge.         |
| H. C. HARTWELL        | . | . | . | of Fitchburg.        |
| CHAS. E. WHITIN       | . | . | . | of Northbridge.      |
| EDWARD G. STEVENS     | . | . | . | of Clinton.          |
| WM. DRAPER            | . | . | . | of Milford.          |
| JOHN B. FAIRBANKS     | . | . | . | of Oakham.           |
| ANDREW J. BARTHOLOMEW | . | . | . | of Southbridge.      |
| STEPHEN M. ALLEN      | . | . | . | of Duxbury.          |

Worcester, Sept. 10, 1879.

## THE REPUBLICAN JUBILEE.

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JOYOUS CELEBRATION OF THE PARTY'S BIRTHDAY AT WORCESTER, SEPTEMBER 15, 1879 — WORDS OF CHEER AND COUNSEL FROM VETERAN STATESMEN — CORDIAL RESPONSES FROM THOSE WHO LISTENED TO THEM.

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[From the Press.]

THE celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the formation of the Republican party occurred this evening in Mechanics' Hall, and it was in every way a complete success. For some time prior to the commencement of the formal exercises, the Worcester Brass Band discoursed lively airs in the street before the hall, and inside that building Fred Blake was giving an organ concert of popular music. The people came crowding in at the spacious entrance in the glare of red and green fires until the auditorium was crowded to its full capacity. Especially noticeable was the number of ladies in the balconies, many of them appearing in elaborate and elegant toilets.

Just before half-past seven, the hour at which the meeting had been called, the band came in and took seats in the balcony, near the organ, which was glorious in its drapery of flags and bunting, that decoration being the only one in the hall. As soon as Mr. Blake had completed the last waltz of his medley, the band commenced a march, to the music of which Gen. Banks, Gen. Burnside, Hon. George F. Hoar, Hon. Marshall Jewell, Henry K. Oliver, Matthew Bolles, Hon. John B. Alley, Congressmen Russell, Claffin, Crapo and Robinson, Hon. Henry L. Dawes, Hon. Stephen M. Allen, and several scores of other gentlemen, came in

and took seats upon the platform or in the front rows of chairs in the auditorium.

Cols. E. B. Stoddard and W. S. B. Hopkins, of Worcester, had charge of the exercises.

As soon as they were seated, Col. Hopkins called the meeting to order. He said that twenty-five years ago the 20th of July, a convention met on yonder Common; on the 7th of the next September there was another convention in the City Hall. From them was born an infant that has long since grown to man's estate. It achieved its first triumph in 1855, when it elected a Massachusetts man to the Speaker's chair; two years later it chose the same man to the Governorship of this Commonwealth, and he has been selected as the man best fitted to preside here to-night. Col. Hopkins then introduced Gen. N. P. Banks as president of the evening, who was received with cheers and applause.

Gen. Banks made a brilliant speech, and was followed by Hon. George S. Boutwell, who was enthusiastically applauded. Both of these gentlemen separated from the Democratic party in 1850, and were foremost in the formation of the Republican party. The other distinguished speakers were heartily received, and their speeches enthusiastically applauded.

## HISTORICAL ADDRESS,

BY HON. STEPHEN M. ALLEN.

### ON THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

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A QUARTER of a century ago, on the twentieth day of July, 1854, a mass convention of the free men of Massachusetts was held on Worcester Common. It was a large meeting, spontaneous in fervor and spirit, representing citizens of all former political parties, and though coincident with, was in its origin independent of, similar outbursts of popular feeling in many other Northern States. But one sentiment seemed to pervade all these gatherings at the North. As of one mind mysteriously moved, the great current set energetically in one direction. A tidal wave of popular will, seemingly inspired by Deity itself, was felt approaching, and the foundations of old political parties were giving away, and even the Union itself was felt to be in danger. Never but once before in the history of the country had such deep, determined feeling pervaded the masses, or the foundations of our civil government seemed so insecure. British injustice, arrogance and political crime against the manhood of our fathers had indeed once generated just such a spirit in the minds and hearts of American subjects, which proved an unquenchable fire, burning through the yokes of civil bondage and servitude, and melting and tearing off the political shackles which, once loosed, proclaimed and maintained the Republic. One dark spot only remained to cloud the social horizon of

the best government the world ever knew ; a legacy of sin, a stone not rejected by the builders, though cursed of God, abhorred by angels and despised by men. This cloud of social and political wrong, gathering for three quarters of a century, through the agencies of human selfishness, was fast overshadowing the whole land. The clergy of the country, from the pulpit that should be held sacred, while pouring out anathemas under the doctrine of original sin in thunder tones, and with almost sulphurous breath, against all who differed with them on religious dogmas, would too often apologize for human slavery as of heavenly birth, and claim that its extension and perpetuation was of divine law, to which the political economy of the country should become subservient and submissive. The sagacity of political parties was ever on the alert to catch up this spirit and use it for selfish ends, knowing too well how to adapt it to their ever-changing needs and purposes. Under this darkening cloud the sordid moralist, with metaphysical strain unknown to logic, would spin fine threads from thin air as a woof for his mantle of selfishness to hide the sin of his unnatural lusts, and the prostitution of innocence to his carnal selfishness. The trafficker in human flesh and blood, the master and worker of bone and muscle, often borrowing life from his own loins, in the depth of his greed, in the degradation of his soul, would quote divine revelation in support of his right to buy and sell his own flesh and blood.

The domestic hearth was tarnished and defiled with human slavery to such a degree that moral oblivion seemed imminent, and all the higher inspirations of human existence must become subservient to the growing idea of the perpetuation of that institution under the law. If such were the feelings of those personally charged with the care of individual life, with the nurture of the soul, the development of the

mind and the use and protection of the body of the bondman, what would be that of the politician, who too often under the absorbing selfishness of unholy ambition would shirk all personal responsibility, and seek to make the legal traffic of human life a means of political preferment. The moral atmosphere on this subject, at the time of the formation of the Republican party, had become sadly imbued with the influences of the sin and shame of negro slavery. The normal status of the two great national parties, which had for such length of time been dominant as political organizations, had fallen below their original standard, or one that could long hold and govern any free and intelligent people. Neither had accomplished the object of their mission, but had long since lost their practical bearing and influence, and were floundering about in search of new fuel to replenish interminable fires of expediency, and warm their decaying powers into new life. Both the Democratic and Whig parties had been misnamed from the first, and like their predecessors, often got credit for virtues they did not possess, while each was reviled for acts chargeable to the other. The Democratic party, though possessing the popular name adapted to the protection of a whole people, had, through the influence of slavery, become really an autocracy, or negative oligarchy. The Whig party, for years the party of progress, to which the nation owed more for its thrift and prosperity than all others, had sunk under a load that no party could long carry in a thriving Republic. A commercial *patrician leadership* and a blind subserviency to mere *expediency* carried it down. It forever lost its life-giving force, its practical control over the hearts and intelligence of the mass of the people, when it compromised its highest ideal, its best claim to true Democracy, by yielding the type of its management to the selfishness of the few, at the expense of and to the injury of the many. Under the pretext of

employing and feeding the masses, it pandered to the needs and demands of a grasping central commercial system, which would soon have absorbed and controlled the use of the whole money resources of the country, adverse to the interests of its indispensable labor capital. The old Democratic party, as a political organization, would have died with the Whig party, but from its fatal hold of the one idea its leading Southern members had ever nourished and sustained, in the form of "protection and extension of human slavery." The death of the old Federal party furnished it a name which, by its action then, and for half a century afterwards, did not belong to it. But little could really distinguish it as a party of principle for the first quarter of a century. War and domestic wrangling occupied its time and used up its strength. It could make no claim to the instigation or creation of the brilliant prosperity of the country which followed. The Whig party then came into existence, which took much of its practical strength, and some of its most brilliant devotees were from the Democratic ranks. Free labor was then becoming antagonized by slavery, and not even the great preponderance of the North in growing population could induce the Democratic party, as an organization, to let slavery die out and strangle itself in its own stronghold. Andrew Jackson for a time stifled secession and nullification by his daring, patriotism and iron will. James Buchanan, with the same *possession*, might have done the same thing, but it was not in or of him, and the official action of the imbecile old man was a true epitome of the moral status of his party at that time, which turned thousands from its ranks into the Free Soil party. The teachings and examples of

WASHINGTON AND ADAMS, AS WELL AS OF  
JEFFERSON AND MADISON,

In the first years of the government, were not practical to its future growth, in some respects, though to some extent they had been observed by the two great parties which followed. As a representative force in any new government, extremes have proved unwise; ostentative show or plebeian affectation should be avoided. The last half-century has proved that, in many respects, the leaders of opposing parties in the early government were both wrong in their incipient teachings, while the wisdom of their doings, in other respects, was not always copied by either the Whig or Democratic parties which succeeded them. The regal example of Washington and Adams, in matters of State and Court, was not, as has been proved, a practical method of assimilating republican principles and character to the highest human progress. Neither were the opposite extremes, shown in the policy of their immediate successors, better guides to the true needs of a young, free people. Washington's stateliness of exterior shown at his inauguration, and on state occasions, has not been continued as a necessary force in the maintenance of government. On the other hand, the backwoods style of Jefferson's ride to the capitol on horseback, hitching his Arabian steed to a tree during the inaugural service, did not add to the dignity of the Democratic President, or the government he was called to represent, either in the minds of his own or the opposing party, or of foreign states looking down upon the new-fledged nation. It is not to be wondered that we have improved much upon the early system of both parties.

## THE HARD-MONEY QUESTION.

For instance, was carried to the extreme, when but little specie existed in the whole country. The credit system, both of government and individuals, was restricted when the people were poorest, and had the least means for respectable financial development. Free trade was preached from a political text when there was no possible way of developing the manufacturing industries of the country, except by a restrictive tariff. Public or internal improvements were denied as political measures, when there was no other possible way of opening the great channels of commerce. The doctrine of State rights was propagated at an improper time, while under the present Constitution a much more plausible color could be given them, than under the old.

The great changes in the

## MEANS OF LIVING FOR THE MASSES

From 1825 to that of 1850, the growth of population and wealth, the accelerated invention of communication from one part of the country to the other, the differences of necessary expenditure, both of the government and individuals, as well as improvements in labor-saving machinery, which during that time, as an operative force, was equal to more than the adult male population of the whole globe, opened the way for legitimate political changes of the greatest magnitude. This condition of things, not wholly applicable to the United States, had not only been a subject of deep study to the political economists of our own Republic, but that of civilized Europe. Emperors, kings and nobles were studying out the problem of a new government, which, though called a Republic, bore but little resemblance to any yet

known to history, and which appeared to conflict with all the monarchies and aristocracies of the old world.

The original statesmen of our country had nearly all passed away, and we were drifting fast into a new order of things, generally designated as "Young America." The most fearful of pressing discussions in Congress was upon the slavery question, and these looked daily more and more difficult to regulate or control. The "Wilmot Proviso" became a familiar phrase in every household from Maine to Georgia. The "Shadrach" rescue in Boston under the lead of Lewis Hayden and his associates, gave rise to a determined resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law. At the *Presidential contest* of 1852, the Democrats had a popular plurality of 202,000, and a clear majority of near 50,000. They carried 27 out of 31 States, and had 254 electoral votes out of 296, and had a majority in the United States Senate of 14, and in the House of Representatives of 84. Webster and Clay had both passed away, and the Free Soil party polled only 157,000 votes in the country, and had only two members in the United States Senate and four in the House of Representatives. Mr. Clay had died without expectation of being a candidate at this election, but Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State under Fillmore's administration, was led to expect the nomination of the Whig party, but was disappointed, and died before the election, that year, of Franklin Pierce. Even the

#### FREE-SOIL DEMOCRATS

Had great hopes that Mr. Pierce's administration would, in some way, open the clouds that were hovering over the whole country, on the slave question, and let in some light for future hope of emancipation, and thus unite and keep the Democratic party together in one body. It was the turning-point, and subsequent action only riveted the chains of the

captive fighter, and strengthened the sentiment of the North against any further extension of slavery. At the first session of the thirty-third Congress, in December, 1853, the ball of secession conflict was opened by Senator Dodge, of Iowa, who submitted the Nebraska bill for organizing the Territory lying west of Missouri and Iowa. This was first reported by Senator Douglass, without interfering with the Missouri Compromise of 1820, prohibiting slavery in that Territory. The bill was not satisfactory to the South, and was recommitted and again reported, creating the two Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, but leaving the slavery question to be settled by the people of the States when organized, though enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of 37 to 14, and in the House 113 to 100. The North looked upon this measure as a violation of the compromise measures of 1820, and a determination to foist slavery upon all the Territories of the country. This violation of Congressional faith roused the whole country, and precipitated measures that otherwise could not have been carried by the North, for the restriction of slavery.

Early in the year 1854, an address was issued to the people of the country by Senators Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner, and Representatives Joshua R. Giddings, Edward Wade, Gerrit Smith and Alexander DeWitt, arraigning the Kansas-Nebraska bill "as a gross violation of a sacred pledge: as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as a part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude, from a vast unoccupied region, immigrants from the old world, and free laborers from our own States, and convert it to a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves." The various pleas on which the bill was advocated were examined, and their false and fallacious character shown, and a ringing appeal made to the anti-slavery sentiment of the North.

This address was circulated in the States, and added to the intensity of feeling on the part of

### THE FREE-SOIL ELEMENT.

Previous to 1848 the Whig and Democratic parties, as National organizations, had had their own way. The Native American party, though professedly of one idea, contained a great many strong anti-slavery members, while the Free Soil party numbered many who believed in the principles of the former. In the Presidential contest of 1848, they both, to some considerable extent, united, resulting in the defeat of the Democratic candidate for President, and in the election of Gen. Taylor, the candidate of the Whig party. To some extent the same elements again united in a coalition in Massachusetts in the autumn of 1850, and defeated the Whigs in their attempt to elect State officers, which went over to the Legislature of 1851. This body, in its organization, was carried in favor of the Coalitionists against the Whigs, who, though numbering about the same as the Coalition proper, were controlled by twenty-three Hunker Democrats, who held the balance of power.

The Governor, George S. Boutwell, the Speaker, N. P. Banks, and some other officers, were reserved to the Democrats, while the President of the Senate, Henry Wilson, and United States Senator were given to the Free Soilers. Over the election of the latter, at a later period of the session, there was a great contest, finally culminating in favor of the Free Soilers by the election of Charles Sumner for six years. *The compromise measures* of 1850-1853, and the steady encroachments of the slave power, tended to unite more firmly the elements which ran together finally in the formation of the Republican party. The election of a Democratic President, Franklin Pierce, in 1852, seemed to destroy the

future hopes of the Whig party in the West and South, but determined resistance was declared in every form against the Pro-slavery Democracy by the Free Democracy. The Nebraska and Kansas excitement, and the rendition of Burns to slavery from Boston in the spring of 1854, spread rapidly throughout the Union, and roused the American heart to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. The National American party, especially in the North, contained more than a majority of anti-slavery members, but which (then being a secret society throughout the Union) did not hold their meetings openly. A great number of Free Soilers, Americans, Whigs, and thousands of Democrats, were perfectly united in the feeling and determination that a new National party should be formed which should be vital to the practical issues of the day.

This feeling was not local, but spread through the whole country, and was confined to no particular class of persons. The Democracy of all the Northern States furnished their full quota of recruits to the new party. Generally, when acting separately, they called themselves Free Democrats. Michigan was first in the field for holding a convention of the people, and giving name to the Republican party, which took place at Jackson, July 6, 1854. Wisconsin held her first convention July 13, 1854, and Vermont, Ohio and Indiana held similar ones the same day. Massachusetts held hers on the 20th of July, 1854, and New York the 19th of October. All these States, at their conventions, took the name of the "Republican party." The *Worcester Convention* met under these circumstances, not the earliest in the field by a few days, but in interest and precedent of preliminary action among the most earnest and devoted pioneers for freedom. No State has shown a deeper or more intense interest in the emancipation of the slave than Massachusetts. The Governor of 1851, George S.

Boutwell, and Speaker of the House of that year, Nathaniel P. Banks, both from the Democratic party, have ever been among the prominent in carrying out the principles of the Republican party from that date.

Among the active members of the first Republican Convention in Massachusetts, were the names of some of the most learned and honored sons of the Bay State, who had been life-long friends of emancipation at any cost. There were also many whose only difficulty in disposing of the question was the construction of the Constitution, which they religiously were bound to respect. The subsequent war and martial law modified this for the abolition of slavery, which otherwise could not have been accomplished.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION, JULY 20, 1854.

The preliminary organization, first attempted in a hall, was adjourned to the public park, for want of sufficient room, and was as follows: H. W. Taft, President, and W. H. Harris and Thomas Drew, Secretaries.

#### PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

The meeting was formally organized by the choice of Judge Oliver B. Morris, an old Democrat of Springfield, as President, and the following ten Vice-Presidents: Joseph Brownell, of New Bedford; A. M. Withington, of Bridgewater; Stephen M. Allen, of West Roxbury; Wm. Brigham, of Boston; W. O. Haskell, of Chelsea; Robert Rantoul, of Beverly; Eli P. McIntire, of Charlestown; W. Fish, of Lowell; Adam Harrington, of Shrewsbury; Wm. Clark, of Northampton, and Increase Sumner, of Great Barrington. The Secretaries were, John I. Baker, of Beverly; J. G. Fuller, of Charlestown; F. H. Underwood, of Cambridge, and Augustus Morse, of Leominster.

## COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Walter Lathrop, of Pittsfield; Seth Webb, of Dedham; P. E. Aldrich, of Worcester; Robert Carter, of Dedham; P. W. Taft, of Worcester; Mitchell Hooper and Linus B. Comins, of Roxbury.

Judge Morris presided at the early part of the meeting, and Stephen M. Allen the rest of the day. Hon. Henry Wilson, in the early part of the session, offered the following Resolution, which was passed unanimously, and was subsequently embodied in the general Resolutions:—

*Resolved*, That in co-operation with the friends of Freedom in other States, we hereby form the Republican party of Massachusetts.

Many distinguished speakers were present and addressed the Convention, among whom were Hon. Henry Wilson, Edward Beecher, Rev. John Pierpont, Theodore Parker, John L. Keyes, and many others, who made spirited addresses. Mr. Wilson particularly explained that the formation of the new party was strictly upon Jeffersonian principles, which were more applicable to that time, in many respects, than when they were first declared by the author of the Declaration of Independence.

The Committee reported the following resolutions, which were passed unanimously:—

*Resolved*, That the unquestionable existence of a settled purpose, on the part of the Slave power, to convert the Republic which our fathers founded on principles of justice and liberty, into a slaveholding despotism, whose vital and animating spirit shall be the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery, calls for the immediate union of all true men into a party which shall make the question of Freedom paramount to all other political questions.

*Resolved*, That in co-operation with the friends of Freedom in other States, we hereby form ourselves into the Republican Party of Massachusetts, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes : —

To bring the administration of the General Government back to its original principles of liberty.

To repeal the Fugitive Slave Law.

To restore the prohibition of Slavery in Kansas and Nebraska.

To prohibit Slavery in all the Territories.

To resist the acquisition of any more territory, unless Slavery therein shall be prohibited.

To refuse admission into the Union, of any more Slave States.

To abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia.

To protect the constitutional rights of all citizens going to other States.

*Resolved*, That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the personal freedom of all her citizens.

*Resolved*, That we recommend the assembling, at some central and convenient place, of a National Convention, with a view to the adoption of effectual measures to resist the encroachments of the Slave power.

*Resolved*, That the Convention invites the Republicans of every town and city in the Commonwealth to send delegates, to the number of three times their representation in the General Court, to a State Convention to be held at Worcester, on Thursday, the 7th of September, 1854, for the purpose of nominating candidates for State officers, and forming a platform of State policy.

Committees for perpetuating the organization of the new

party were chosen, after which the Convention adjourned to meet again in September.

## SECOND REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The State Convention, according to previous notice by the committee appointed at the first Convention in July, met at Worcester, September 7, 1854, in the City Hall. There was a large attendance. John A. Andrew, of Hingham, called the meeting to order, and was appointed Chairman, and W. H. Harris and J. W. Denney, Secretaries *pro tem*. Robert Rantoul, of Beverly, was chosen President, and George R. Russell, Warren Lovering, Adam Harrington, A. Churchill, D. F. Hooper, B. W. Gage, Samuel Hopkins, Thomas Lovering, Albert Currier, F. Wilkins, R. Sturtevant, R. P. Wales, W. Washburn, C. Beck, B. S. Sisson, I. Shea, Aug. Moore, L. Reed and J. A. Andrew, Vice-Presidents. Secretaries: J. W. Denney, W. H. Harris, G. W. Stacey, C. R. Ladd and W. H. DeCosta. The meeting was quite an enthusiastic one, and Charles Sumner spoke over an hour. Many others spoke at length, among whom was the Rev. John Pierpont. The Committee on Resolutions reported the following:—

1. *Resolved*, That the Republican party is pre-eminently the party of the Union and the Constitution, of law and of order, and may justly claim to be the true National and Democratic party, because it is opposed in its principles sentiments and aims to sectionalism, secession and disunion, is equally desirous of the welfare of every part of the country, and disregarding the aristocratic, hereditary distinction of birth and color, and maintains the right of all men to freedom and equality before the law.

2. *Resolved*, That the Republicans of Massachusetts, in

co-operation with the friends of freedom in other States, are pledged to make the question of freedom paramount to all other political questions, and to labor for the accomplishment of the following purposes: —

To bring the administration of the General Government back to the national principle of liberty.

To repeal the Fugitive Slave Law bill.

To restore the prohibition of slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

To prohibit slavery in all the Territories.

To resist the acquisition of Cuba, or any other Territory, unless slavery therein shall be prohibited.

To refuse the admission into the Union of any more Slave States.

To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

To protect the constitutional rights of citizens going to other States, and to sustain all other constitutional measures of opposition to slavery.

3. *Resolved*, That Massachusetts has the constitutional right, and it is her imperative duty, to enact laws which shall protect the liberty of her citizens, by securing to them the right of *habeas corpus* and the trial by jury in all cases involving the question of personal freedom, and which shall effectually retain and punish the atrocious crime of kidnapping free men into slavery.

4. *Resolved*, That the recent prostitution of the Municipal Government of Boston to the service of slavery, and the temporary establishment of a military rule in the streets of that city, in violation of the laws and of private right, under the immediate eye of the Governor and Commander in Chief of the militia of the Commonwealth, deserves the sternest rebuke of the people, and calls for prompt action on the part of the Legislature.

5. *Resolved*, That the effort to preserve freedom in Kansas and Nebraska, by settling these Territories with free men, claims and receives our warmest sympathy and most hearty co-operation.

6. *Resolved*, That the prohibition, by law, of the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, is the right and duty of the people.

A State Central Committee was appointed, consisting of the following names : —

Charles G. Davis, J. A. Andrew, J. G. Fuller, W. Clark, Estes Howe, Mitchell Hooper, J. I. Baker, H. R. Wetherell, R. B. Sisson, G. White, J. H. Graves, A. Harrington, W. Lovering, P. W. Taft, N. Hinekley, A. McPhail, J. Branning, W. M. Walker, A. Josselyn, Robert Carter.

Hon. Henry Wilson, of Natick, was nominated for Governor, and Hon. Increase Sumner, of Great Barrington, for Lieutenant-Governor; but the other State officers were left to be nominated at subsequent meetings. The Convention adjourned, after a harmonious session.

#### THE PROCEEDINGS IN OTHER STATES,

For the organization of the Republican party, were no less interesting than in Massachusetts. The late Henry Wilson says truly, in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America : " —

" But whatever suggestions may have been made, or whatever action may have been taken elsewhere, to Michigan belongs the honor of being the first State to form and christen the Republican party. More than three months before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the Free Soil Convention had adopted a mixed ticket, made up from the Free Soilers

and Whigs, in order that there might be a combination of the anti-slavery elements of the State. Immediately upon the passage of the Nebraska bill, Joseph Warren, editor of the 'Detroit Tribune,' entered upon a course of measures that resulted in bringing the Whig and Free Soil parties together, not by a mere coalition of the two, but by a fusion of the elements of which the two were composed. In his own language he 'took ground in favor of disbanding the Whig and Free Soil parties, and of the organization of a new party, composed of all the opponents of slavery extension.' Among the first steps taken toward the accomplishment of this vitally important object was the withdrawal of the Free Soil ticket. This having been effected, a call for a mass Convention was issued, signed by more than 10,000 names. The Convention met on the sixth day of July, and was largely attended.

"A platform, drawn by the Hon. Jacob M. Howard, afterward United States Senator from Michigan, was adopted, not only opposing the extension of slavery, but declaring in favor of its abolition in the District of Columbia. The report also proposed 'Republican' as the name of the new party, which was adopted by the Convention. Kinsley S. Bingham was nominated by the Convention as the 'Republican' candidate for Governor, and was triumphantly elected, and Michigan, thus early to enter the ranks of the Republican party, has remained steadfast to its then publicly avowed principles of faith."

The "Detroit Post and Tribune" of July 6, 1879, in its address to the people of Michigan upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republican party, which we quote fully, recognized the action of the "Free Democracy" of that day, which not only in that State, but nearly all the Northern States, especially including Massachusetts, became active and efficient leaders in the formation of the Republican party:—

THE STATE CONVENTION OF THE FREE DEMOCRACY  
OF MICHIGAN,

Held at Jackson, February 22, 1854, was early in the field, and passed the following resolutions: —

The Free Democracy of Michigan, assembled in convention on the anniversary of the birthday of Washington, deem it an appropriate occasion to express our veneration for the character of this illustrious man, and our appreciation of the wisdom and patriotism which laid the foundation of our National prosperity in that admirable instrument, the Constitution of the United States. We desire now and always to proclaim our attachment to that Union among the people of the United States, of which the Constitution is the bond, and that its great purpose "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity," is, and ever shall be, ours. And, as a political party organized to promote this purpose, we believe it to be our duty, a duty which is especially and solemnly enjoined upon every man who has sworn to support the Constitution, to support every measure calculated to advance this purpose, and to resist, with the energy of inflexible principle, every scheme which may defeat or retard it.

We therefore *Resolve*, —

1. That we regard the institution of *domestic slavery*, which exists in some of the States of the Union, not only as a foe to the domestic tranquillity and the welfare of such States, but as subversive of the plainest principles of justice, and the manifest destroyer of the blessings of liberty. As an institution, we are compelled to denounce and abhor it; yet we concede that in the States where it exists it is politi-

cally beyond our reach. But, as we cannot deny our responsibility concerning it, so long as it finds protection under the laws of the Federal Government, so we will never cease to war against it so long as the purpose of the Constitution shall remain unaccomplished to secure the blessings of liberty to all within its power.

2. That in following in the footsteps of the fathers of the Republic, who regarded Freedom the National and *Slavery* the *Sectional* sentiment, we best vindicate their claims to enlightened patriotism, and our own to be considered loyal supporters of the government they established; and that opposition to any extension of slavery, and to any augmentation of its power, is clearly the duty of all who respect the doctrine or the practice of the wisest and ablest of the framers of the Constitution.

3. That the attempt now pending in Congress, to repeal the enactment by which the vast territory north of the Missouri Compromise line was dedicated to freedom, is an outrage upon justice, humanity and good faith; one by which traitorous ambition, confederated with violation of a solemn and time-honored compact, is seeking to inflict upon the nation a deep and indelible disgrace. We denounce the scheme as infamous, and we call upon the people to hold its authors and abettors to the most rigid and righteous accountability.

4. That executive patronage has grown to be an evil of immense magnitude, consolidating the power of the Government into the hands of the incumbent of the Presidential mansion, to a degree subversive of all proper accountability to the people, and for which there is no adequate remedy, short of a transfer of this power from the President to the people.

5. That we are in favor of cheap postage by land and sea; of free grants of land out of the public domain, in limited

quantities, to actual settlers; of harbor and river improvements, rational in their character, and of grants by the Government in aid of the railroad to the Pacific, in such form as shall best avoid the wasteful squander of Government jobs, and secure the early completion of the road.

6. That upon questions of State policy, we are in favor of the re-enactment of the law for the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, with such amendments as shall remove all constitutional doubts, and secure the highest degree of efficiency to the law; we are in favor of general laws under which capital may be associated and combined for the prosecution of works of public improvement, and of various industrial pursuits. We are in favor of free schools, and of such a disposition of the public money as shall promote the interests of the State, rather than the interests of any individual or corporation; and especially are we opposed to the loaning of the public money at one per cent interest.

7. That the subjects likely to be presented to the action of the next Legislature, are such as require the selection for the offices of Senators and Representatives, of men of sound head, of business capacity and of unimpeachable integrity; and we take the liberty of commending this subject to the seasonable and thoughtful consideration of the electors of this State, for we are assured that it is only by such selections for this important trust, that wise legislation can be accomplished, and the recurrence of scenes which linger painfully in the memory of the people, can be effectually prevented.

#### THE NEBRASKA BILL

Passed the House May 22, and on the 25th, three days afterwards, the Independent Democratic Committee of Michigan called another convention to meet at Kalamazoo the 21st of the following June, which was held, and the following resolutions were passed:—

*Whereas*, This Convention, called to aid in concentrating the popular sentiment of this State to resist the aggressions of the slave power, are deeply impressed with the importance of the crisis in our national affairs, we are compelled to contemplate a strife in the councils of the nation, participated in to some extent by the people, in which the elemental principles of wrong and injustice are warring against the interests of justice and liberty. We have seen this strife carried to a degree of success shameful to its authors, and which excites the most alarming apprehensions for the peace and prosperity of the country; we have seen our National Government sinking from the position of the freest nation on earth to that of a mere Presidential despotism — and that too controlled by a system of iniquity which is the disgrace of our country and the scorn of mankind; therefore —

1. *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States establishes a Government of free men for a free people; and that in so far as the Government has been perverted from its original purpose, it is the duty of every lover of his country to seek its restoration to the original purpose of its authors.

2. *Resolved*, That the institution of slavery which existed in some of the States at the formation of the Constitution was then regarded as exceptional, and local in its character, and was to be limited and restricted until it should finally disappear.

3. *Resolved*, That in the recent passage of the bill for the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, we see the crowning act of a series of aggressions by which the sectional and exceptional character of slavery has been gradually changed until it has become the great national interest of the country, for the protection of which every other interest must be sacrificed, and its power has become so

potent that from the President to the postmaster, all the functionaries of the Executive Government are twisted and corrupted by it into absolute subjection to its insulting demands.

4. *Resolved*, That evils so great as these demand a remedy ; and that if that remedy cannot be found in the virtue of the people, a people who are yet true to the instincts of liberty, to the immortal principles proposed by the Fathers of the Constitution, a people who enjoy the blessings of the Government they established, and a people who are yet willing to display something of energy and perseverance, and if need be sacrifice, which moved the patriots of *seventy-six* to the accomplishment of their great work, — then the days of the Republic are numbered, and it must soon become, what its laws will make it, a nation of slaves.

5. *Resolved*, That we do not and will not despair ; that we believe the people of this State are ready to respond to the call of their country in this emergency ; that they are ready, irrespective of all past political preferences, to declare in an unmistakable tone their will ; and that will is that slavery aggression upon their rights shall go no further — that there shall be no compromise with slavery — that there shall be no more Slave States — that there shall be no slave territory — that the Fugitive Slave Law shall be repealed — that the abominations of slavery shall no longer be perpetrated under the sanctions of the Federal Constitution — and that they will make their will effective by driving from every place of official power the public servants who have so shamelessly betrayed their trust, and by putting in their places men who are honest and capable ; men who will be faithful to the Constitution and the great claims of humanity.

6. *Resolved*, That the Free Democracy of Michigan rejoice to behold the indications of popular sentiment furnished by this Convention ; they are conscious that the deeply aroused

feeling of the masses in this State will seek a suitable expression in a convention springing from themselves, irrespective of any existing political organization; and that if such a movement shall be animated and guided by the principles expressed in the resolutions of this Convention, and shall contemplate an efficient organization to give effect to our principles in this State, we shall willingly surrender our distinctive organization, and with it the ticket for State officers nominated at Jackson on the 22d of February last; and that we commit the execution of this purpose to a committee of sixteen—two persons from each judicial district, to be appointed by this Convention.

#### THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF MICHIGAN.

By the action at Kalamazoo was cleared the way for the harmonious and successful work of the grand mass Convention at Jackson, July 6, 1854.

The committee on resolutions, through the chair, Hon. J. M. Howard, reported the following, which were passed:—

The free men of Michigan, assembled in convention in pursuance of a spontaneous call, emanating from various parts of the State, to consider upon the measures which duty demands of us as citizens of a free State, to take in reference to the late acts of Congress on the subject of slavery and its anticipated further extension, do

*Resolve*, That the institution of slavery, except in punishment of crime, is a great moral, social and political evil; that it was so regarded by the Fathers of the Republic, the founders and best friends of the Union, by the heroes and sages of the Revolution, who contemplated and intended its gradual and peaceful extinction as an element hostile to the liberties for which they toiled; that its history in the United States, the experience of men best acquainted with its workings; the

dispassionate confession of those who are interested in it ; its tendency to relax the vigor of industry and enterprise inherent in the white man ; the very surface of the earth where it subsists ; the vices and immoralities which are its natural growth ; the stringent police, often wanting in humanity, and speaking to the sentiments of every generous heart, which it demands ; the danger it has already wrought, and the future danger which it portends to the security of the Union and our constitutional liberties,—all incontestably prove it to be such evil. Surely, that institution is not to be strengthened or encouraged against which Washington, the calmest and wisest of our nation, bore unequivocal testimony ; as to which Jefferson, filled with a love of liberty, exclaimed, " Can the liberties of a nation be ever thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that their liberties are THE GIFT OF GOD ? that they are not to be violated but with His wrath ? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just ; that His justice cannot sleep forever ; that, considering numbers, nature and nationality means only a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events ; that it may become probable by supernatural interference ! The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us in such a contest ! " And as to which another eminent patriot in Virginia, on the close of the Revolution, also exclaimed, " Had we turned our eyes inwardly when we supplicated the Father of Mercies to aid the injured and oppressed, when we invoked the Author of Righteousness to attest the purity of our motives and the justice of our cause, and implored the God of battles to aid our exertions in its defence, should we not have stood more self-convicted than the contrite publican ? " We believe these sentiments to be as true now as they were then.

*Resolved*, That slavery is a violation of the rights of man

as man ; that the law of nature, which is the law of liberty, gives to no man rights superior to those of another ; that God and nature have secured to each individual the inalienable right of equality, any violation of which must be the result of superior force ; and that slavery therefore is a perpetual war upon its victims ; that whether we regard the institution as first originating in captures made in war, or the subjection of the debtor as the slave of his creditor, or the forcible seizure and sale of children by their parents, or subjects by their king, and whether it be viewed in this country as a "*necessary evil*" or otherwise, we find it to be, like imprisonment for debt, but a relic of barbarism as well as an element of weakness in the midst of the State, inviting the attack of external enemies, and a ceaseless cause of internal apprehension and alarm. Such are the lessons taught us, not only by the histories of other commonwealths, but by that of our own beloved country.

*Resolved*, That the history of the formation of the Constitution, and particularly the enactment of the ordinance of July 13, 1787, prohibiting slavery north of the Ohio, abundantly shows it to have been the purpose of our fathers not to promote but to prevent the spread of slavery. And we, reverencing their memories and cherishing free republican faith as our richest inheritance, which we vow, at whatever expense, to defend, thus publicly proclaim our determination to oppose, by all the powerful and honorable means in our power, now and henceforth, all attempts, direct or indirect, to extend slavery in this country, or to permit it to extend into any region or locality in which it does not now exist by positive law, or to admit new Slave States into the Union.

*Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress full and complete power for the municipal government of the Territories thereof ; a power which, from its nature, cannot be either alienated or abdicated, without

yielding up to the Territory an absolute political independence, which involves an absurdity. That the exercise of this power necessarily looks to the formation of States to be admitted into the Union; and on the question whether they shall be admitted as *Free* or *Slave* States, Congress has a right to adopt such prudential and preventive measures as the principles of liberty and the interests of the whole country require. That this question is one of the gravest importance to the Free States, inasmuch as the Constitution itself creates an inequality in the apportionment of representatives, greatly to the detriment of the Free and to the advantage of the Slave States. This question, so vital to the interests of the Free States (but which, we are told by certain political doctors of modern times, is to be treated with utter indifference), is one which we hold it to be our right to *discuss*; which we hold it the duty of Congress, in every instance, to determine in unequivocal language, and in a manner to *prevent* the spread of slavery and the increase of such unequal representation. In short, we claim that the North is a *party to the new bargain, and is entitled to have a voice and influence in settling its terms*. And in view of the ambitious designs of the slave power, we regard the man or the party who would forego this right, as untrue to the honor and interest of the North, and unworthy of its support.

*Resolved*, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, contained in the recent act of Congress for the creation of the Territories Nebraska and Kansas, thus admitting slavery into a region till then sealed against it by law, equal in extent to the thirteen old States, is an act unprecedented in the history of the country, and one which must engage the earnest and serious attention of every Northern man. And as Northern freemen, independent of all former party ties, we here hold this measure up to the public execration, for the following reasons:—

That it is a plain departure from the policy of the Fathers of the Republic in regard to slavery, and a wanton and dangerous frustration of their purposes and their hopes.

That it actually admits, *and was intended to admit*, slavery into said Territories, and thus (to use the words applied by Judge Tucker, of Virginia, to the fathers of that Commonwealth) "sows the seeds of an evil, which, like a leprosy, hath descended upon their posterity with accumulated rancor, visiting the sins of the fathers upon succeeding generations." That it was sprung upon the country stealthily and by surprise, without necessity, without petition and without previous discussion, thus violating the cardinal principle of republican government, which requires all legislation to accord with the opinions and sentiments of the people.

That on the part of the South, it is an open and undisguised breach of faith, as contracted between the North and South in the settlement of the Missouri question, in 1820, by which the tranquillity of the two sections was restored; a compromise binding upon all honorable men.

That it is also an open violation of the Compromise of 1850, by which, for the sake of peace, and to calm the distempered impulse of certain enemies of the Union and at the South, the North accepted and acquiesced in the odious Fugitive Slave Law of that year.

That it is also an undisguised and unmanly contempt of the pledge given to the country by the present dominant party, at their National Convention in 1850, not to "*agitate the subject of slavery in and out of Congress*," being the same convention which nominated Franklin Pierce to the Presidency.

That it is greatly injurious to the Free States, and to the Territories themselves, tending to retard the settlement and to prevent the improvement of the country by means of free

labor, and to discourage foreign immigrants resorting thither for their homes.

That one of its principal aims is to give to the Slave States such a decided and practical preponderance in all the measures of government as shall reduce the North, with all her industry, wealth and enterprise, to be the mere province of a few slaveholding oligarchs of the South, — to a condition too shameful to be contemplated.

Because, as openly avowed by its Southern friends, it is intended as an entering wedge to the still further augmentation of the slave power by the acquisition of the other Territories, cursed with the same leprosy.

*Resolved*, That the obnoxious measure to which we have alluded ought to be *repealed*, and a provision substituted for it, prohibiting slavery in said Territories, and each of them.

*Resolved*, That after this gross breach of faith and wanton affront to us as Northern men, we hold ourselves absolved from all "*compromises*," except those expressed in the Constitution, for the protection of slavery and slave-owners; that we now demand measures of protection and immunity for ourselves; and among them we demand the REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, and an act to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.

*Resolved*, That we notice with dismay certain popular indications by slaveholders on the frontier of said Territories, of a purpose on their part to prevent by violence the settlement of the country by non-slaveholding men. To the latter we say: Be of good cheer, persevere in the right, remember the Republican motto, "THE NORTH WILL DEFEND YOU."

*Resolved*, That, postponing and suspending all differences with regard to political economy or administrative policy, in view of the imminent danger that Kansas and Nebraska will be grasped by slavery, and a thousand miles of slave soil

be thus interposed between the Free States of the Atlantic and those of the Pacific, we will act cordially and faithfully in unison to avert and repeal this gigantic wrong and shame.

*Resolved*, That in view of the necessity of battling for the first principles of republican government, and against the schemes of aristocracy, the most revolting and oppressive with which the earth was ever cursed, or man debased, we will co-operate and be known as REPUBLICANS until the contest be terminated.

*Resolved*, That we earnestly recommend the calling of a general convention of the Free States, and such of the Slaveholding States, or portions thereof, as may desire to be there represented, with a view to the adoption of other more extended and effectual measures in resistance to the encroachments of slavery; and that a committee of five persons be appointed to correspond and co-operate with our friends in other States on the subject.

*Resolved*, That in relation to the domestic affairs of the State, we urge a more economical administration of the Government, and a more rigid accountability of the public officers; a speedy payment of the balance of the public debt, and the lessening of the amount of taxation; a careful preservation of the primary-school and university funds, and their diligent application to the great objects for which they were created; and also further legislation to prevent the unnecessary or imprudent sale of the lands belonging to the State.

*Resolved*, That in our opinion the commercial wants require the enactment of a general railroad law, which, while it shall secure the investment and encourage the enterprise of stockholders, shall also guard and protect the rights of the public and of individuals; and that the preparation of such a measure requires the first talents of the State.

The opposition, largely Republican, carried the State of Michigan at the fall election, as against the old Democracy and the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

LETTER FROM EX-VICE PRESIDENT COLFAX,

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.

*To the Editor of the Post and Tribune:*

Your letter brings vividly to my mind the political conflicts of a quarter of a century ago in Michigan, in which I participated; the closing campaign of the old Whig party in 1852, in which I spoke at Kalamazoo, Marshall, &c., for Zach Chandler, then a Detroit merchant, just commencing political life, and the opening campaign of the Republican party, when at Hillsdale and other points in southern Michigan, I advocated the election of Kinsley S. Bingham. I remember, too, right well, how that harmonious and auspicious fusion of Free Democrats, Whigs, Abolitionists and Anti-Nebraska men, "under the oaks at Jackson," into an united Republican organization, inspired us in Indiana to such redoubled exertions, as to change the Democratic majority of 15,000, in 1852, into a Republican majority of 12,000, in 1854. And your ringing platform of that day, as I realize its absolute necessity in the light of all that has since transpired, convinces me that what I announced in the dark days of our nation afterwards, as a principle, is, in view of all that has occurred in later years, as axiomatic now as it was then, that "*Loyalty should govern what loyalty preserved.*"

Yours very truly,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

SOUTH BEND, Indiana, July 1, 1879.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN WISCONSIN  
Was held at Madison, July 13, 1854, the call being issued July 9, after a number of "Anti-Nebraska Meetings" had

been held in different parts of the State. The call invited "all men opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the extension of the slave power" to take part. No names were signed to it, and no name for any new party was indicated in it; but the convention which met in response thereto adopted the following as one of its resolutions:—

*Resolved*, That we accept the issue forced upon us by the slave power, and in defence of freedom will co-operate and be known as Republicans.

On the 13th of July, 1854, a mass convention was held in Vermont of persons "in favor of resisting, by all constitutional means, the usurpations of the propagandists of slavery." Among the resolutions adopted was one which closed with these words: "We propose, and respectfully recommend to the friends of freedom in other States, to co-operate and be known as Republicans." A State ticket was nominated, but the State committees of the various parties being empowered "to fill vacancies," a fusion ticket was afterward placed in the field, voted for and elected under the name of Fusion.

On the 13th of July, also, a convention was held in Columbus, Ohio, of those in favor of "breaking the chains now forging to bind the nation to the car of American slavery." The canvass which was then inaugurated swept the State for the party which, during that canvass, was generally known as Republican.

On the same day a similar convention was held in Indiana, at which speeches were made by Henry S. Lane, Henry L. Ellsworth and Schuyler Colfax, and the campaign resulted similarly to that in Ohio.

Following quickly in the lead of the others, the great State of New York organized her Republican party and ex-

erted a broad and effective influence in her election of 1854. Her first convention was called for the 17th of October, and was held at Angelica, Alleghany County. The call was headed by Hon. A. N. Cole, editor of the "Free Press." Mr. Cole writes the day after the election, in November, 1876, when the Democrats assumed the triumph of Tilden, and were firing guns on the hill near his room: "Beneath the shadows of the hill overlooking the Genesee, we sat a quarter of a century ago writing. Our letter was to one who loved liberty, now gathered to his fathers, Preston King, of St. Lawrence, and we asked, 'Has not the time come, Mr. King, when all the friends of freedom should unite and make a party, pledged to see the national domain made into Free rather than Slave States?' Mails were somewhat slower in those days than now, and St. Lawrence was far away up towards the North Pole, and it was a long week before there came an answer, a glorious and never to be forgotten one when it came, characteristic of the patriot who wrote, and this was what he said: 'Yes, it is high time that the friends of Mr. Seward understood that the Whig party has had its day, and that, if a man is a Seward Whig he is an anti-slavery man, and if he is a Free Soil Democrat, he is opposed to slavery everywhere and in favor of freedom everywhere, and while bound to respect the compromises of the Constitution, is not bound to become a slave-catcher,' &c.

"We were publishing our cherished 'Free Press' in those days, and we put Mr. King's letter in type and sent it out to the world. A little after, the great dailies in the city, 'The Tribune' (Horace Greeley's paper), 'The Times' (then published by Henry J. Raymond), and the 'Evening Post' (with William Cullen Bryant as editor), brought out the letter, and all over the North it was borne, and there came echoing back the response from the lovers of liberty. The Whig

party has done its work — the Free Soilers should dissolve partnership, and that too, forever, with the Hunkers, and we should have, must have, a new party, with a new name, with noble purposes, a party bound to see that Freedom is the rule, Slavery the exception, in America.

"A little after, there appeared in the columns of the 'Free Press' a call, humbly signed by five men. Here are their names: A. N. Cole, Robert Snow, Elias P. Benjamin, Charles M. Allen and J. D. Shuart, all of whom still survive, except the latter. This was the first call for a Republican Convention in the State of New York. The convention was held on the seventeenth day of October, 1854, the birthday of the great party of freedom in this State. It was held on the soil of our glorious old Alleghany, at the old court house in Angelica, was not numerously attended, only a score of Whigs in the entire county having pluck enough to participate in its proceedings, together with fifty or sixty Free Democrats.

"How the ticket then nominated, contrary to all expectation, was elected, and how our convention was the means of the election of Myron H. Clark as Governor, and how, within a year from that time, the Republican party was fully organized at Syracuse, Preston King nominated for Secretary of State, our banner hung upon the outer wall, and, though our ticket was defeated, the foundation laid for the great work since accomplished, are events which have silently passed into history.

"The men calling themselves Democrats continue to fire those guns. We cannot discern their faces, only their forms, and that dimly in the distance, but will venture the conclusion that not one of them took part in the early work to which we have referred — not one, a year after, in 1856, voted for Fremont and Freedom; not one became a Repub-

lean, not one a true lover of liberty, but all remained votaries of slavery : not one ever voted in his life for the equal rights of all men, nor had any disposition to do so.

"Not only so : a little later, Abraham Lincoln having been made President, Wade Hampton and others of his kind gathered at Charleston, and brought their guns to bear upon Sumter. The guns of the traitors were far off and away, but their echoes reverberated across land and sea, and the lovers of their country, rising up, sang the song :—

• The Star Spangled Banner, oh, long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave! •

"And then were heard other guns, and there was hurrying to and fro, and gathering in hot haste, and the great meeting was held in Union Square, and Samuel J. Tilden was not there, the man over whose election to the Presidency, the Democrats are now shouting, rejoicing and firing those guns. And our boys went out to war for the Union, and thousands and tens of thousands came not back again. Nine of our 'Free Press' boys went among the number, and Melvin and Luther, both of whom we loved as our own flesh, were starved at Andersonville, and died, and were buried, the one with a grave marked, the other unmarked. Others of the boys, wrapping around them the bloody shirt, laid down in graves on the soil of treason. Only four of the nine 'Free Press' boys, so far as we know, came back, nor one without scars to tell that they fought for liberty.

"We cast our eyes up from our writing, and discern a picture on the wall, with a wreath encircling, woven by the heart of affection, a wreath of autumn leaves. It is the picture of one who, since the time when Algernon Sidney laid down his life for Liberty, none has lived, wrought and died, who loved Freedom better, or was more obedient to conscience —

## THE PICTURE OF HORACE GREELEY.

"And Democrats, some who voted for him four years ago, as well as those who voted against him, were taunting us a few days since, with having deserted the standard of Democracy. Thank Heaven, we never fought under that banner, nor will. The hoar frosts in mirror reflected, tells the story, the grave is only a little way off. And is it so? Has the great party at whose baptismal font we stood that quarter of a century ago, gotten through with its work, and passed into history? And is the sound of those guns its requiem, and must a false and traitorous Democracy hence rule this great country?"

"And yet, amid the gloom, one bright green spot arises up to cheer. Here, on the soil of Alleghany, where the Republican baby was nursed a quarter of a century ago, the fires of freedom, early lighted, have not grown dim, but blaze out as beacons and send greeting to all true Republicans, saying that in sunshine or shadow, at the cradle or the grave of the Republican party, we count

## THREE THOUSAND MAJORITY

For the star of Republicanism, never to set among our mountains till a better Democracy shall be presented to us than has ever yet been seen in this country.

"But this is not the grave of Republicanism, only a reminder that men who profess Republicanism are bound to practise it. It is the grave, nevertheless, of

## KING CAUCUS.

"A brighter and better future awaits us. There is nothing in the past, nothing in the present, nothing in the purposes, nothing in the spirit of Democracy to inspire hope, beget confidence, give us good laws, patriotic, true law-givers, just rulers, good government, a government of the people, by the

people, for the people. We must now take hold, all of us, and educate the American people to understand that

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY ;

That the American people must, if they would save the Republic, give us honest elections, and secure to us the right of making choice by ballot of every nominee for elective office, and that he who would pack a caucus, or degrade a convention to his personal ends, is an enemy of his country, and to be shunned by all true men."

In a letter to the writer, from Mr. Cole, dated May 31, 1879, he says, "Our Convention was called as a Republican Convention to nominate a complete ticket. This we did, State and County officers, all of whom were elected. This ticket, headed 'Republican nominations,' appeared in my 'Genesee Valley Free Press,' now universally acknowledged to have been the pioneer Republican journal in America."

THE BROAD PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican party as a party, and in its published principles, has ever ignored the restrictive dogmas of the Native American party, as well as the secret organization of its more effective political successor, called the American party, which so took the country by surprise and swept the States at the fall elections of 1854. No political organization in this country ever sprang up so suddenly, or commanded so much temporary influence, as did that party, both North and South, East and West. Yet whatever may be said to the contrary by those knowing but little of its real character, from its being a secret organization, and who became fearfully jealous of some of its most influential members, from the fact of their subsequent distinguished influence in the Republican party, the fact exists all the same, that a greater portion of the first vital strength of

membership for substantial work against the extension of slavery, came from the American party. This is sufficiently proved by the subsequent election of two Vice-Presidents of the United States from that class of Republicans. Of the other numerous important statesmen and officers serving in responsible positions, and doing most effective work since the formation of the party, it is not necessary here to speak. There have always been those ambitious of position, or envious of the deserved high standing of others, who were willing to traduce such, and deny the efficiency of the work they accomplished for the party. They have also been willing to dispute the influence and aid, as well as to give the cold shoulder to many of those Republicans who came from the Democratic party. No greater injustice could be done than this. From the *Democratic party* came some of the most vital and efficient Republicans who have ever taken part in its action from the first. To one familiar with parties during the last forty years, it is easy to trace most of these croakers back to an unimportant position in the old Whig party, who stayed out of the Republican party until its vital popularity drew them in. All honor to the clear-sighted humanitarian Democrats who flocked into the Free-Soil and Republican parties when slavery became noxious, and became a pampered pet of the old-line Democracy, especially of the South! All honor to those true "Americans" in the South, who, though slaveholders themselves, as their fathers had been before them, willingly gave them up and flew to the support of the Union and Republican party in its darkest day of need, at the expense of all their personal property, and with the halter constantly dangling over their heads! This, too, in defiance of the Southern Confederacy, in the midst of which they lived, and dared even to shout for the Union. They, too, joined the Republicans, though formerly active members of the American party, and to whom

the nation owes everlasting gratitude. Again, all honor to the patriotic band of young Democratic soldiers who by the hundred thousand flocked to the Union standard, at the fall of Sumter, and without whose aid the Rebellion might have become of doubtful issue! It would be invidious, indeed, did we stop here and deny credit and honor to that higher class of old and acknowledged Democratic leaders who sprung to arms at the first shot of the Rebellion, buckled on their armor for the field, and flew first to the front, and there remained during the war, amid its trials and dangers, to the last, standing by the armies under their control, watched over their wounded and dead, and who have cared for their widows and orphans ever since, as their best friend. Many others, whose duties called them to the halls of legislation instead of the field, have proved the most valuable of Republican partisans and devotees of the Union. The claims of such to our gratitude cannot and ought not to be ignored.

To the *young Republicans and Unionists*, whose early education and principles had firmly established their minds against slavery in all its forms, as the greatest of crying evils, and which was to be restricted and put down by all constitutional means, yet who flew into the Union ranks and formed an army, at early call, to which they devoted their lives, all honor! The nation remembers their service, but, in many respects, have as yet failed to do them full justice. The dead that had fallen, the million that sleep in the dust of every State in the Union, are remembered, and their graves are annually decorated; but the living do not receive their just due of the sympathy and practical support of the nation. The influences of the American party, so far as it aided in carrying out the principles of the Republican party, either North or South, should not be ignored, neither should the *Free Democracy*, which fortunately is all that is now left of

the old party, except in name, be denied the credit for what it did once for freedom and the Republican party. If it is asked by the unknowing ones, in what especial way the American party was made to serve the Republican party during the first years of its organization, it can be answered in few words; viz., "It submitted gracefully to a perfect capture by the Republican party in the Northern States."

Its surrender gained some years of advance to the Republican organization, and furnished it some of the most talented and energetic workers which any party ever possessed; and moreover, who have proved to be the most valuable servants to its cause from first to last. Its National archives in effect became the property of the Republican party, and furnished the first regularly organized means of communication and co-operation from State to State. What few active Union men that remained in the South during the contest were generally of the American party, and before communication between the North and South was cut off, and after the close of the war, they were most active in co-operation with their friends in the North in preventing war, and establishing a proper peace. The fall elections of 1854 were generally carried throughout many States of the Union by the influence or through the union of the American and Republican parties. *The cause of temperance* was espoused by both parties, and became a leading plank in their respective platforms, while the private meetings of the American party were ever conducted under the most strict and exemplary temperance principles.

The State election in Massachusetts that year has often been called wholly "American," but that was not the case. Two principles as a whole were equally strong with the restrictive and narrow one of the protection of American suffrage. The great anti-slavery question and the temperance principle were powerful agents in producing the result

which followed. One other motive, bringing about a united action in the minds of the people, was the overthrow of the old "bell-wether" system, as it was termed, carried on by the Whig party. For many years the leaders of that party had been centralizing an influence in the hands of a few, to entirely control the many. The rising young men that came up who chose to exercise in any sense an independent choice of rulers were instantly tabooed by the "ring," and were marked to be set aside in all political positions, while others that were willing to submit to the dogmatism of the aristocratic few were placed in position of influence. It was difficult for any young man, of independent mind, throughout the State to get up and hold a meeting to consult for the general good of the people in any place without the impertinent interference of some of the "ring," either in person or by representation, who made trouble. One sample of this, witnessed by the writer, will suffice for an illustration. A respectable young man of the people, who had served his town faithfully for a number of years in various offices, to the acceptance of all except the aristocratic few who had failed to control his action, and who was a candidate for re-election to the Legislature where he had served one term, and had voted always on the side of temperance, was confronted by an opulent importing merchant with the assumption that he should not run again. This gentleman, who had had much influence in all primary meetings, through his wealth, though he seldom went to one himself, on occasion of a conference meeting of the kind mentioned above, waited until the same was organized, and then, in company with two associates of his own imperious bearing, marched into the hall and up to the President's chair, and in a pompous manner protested for himself and his class against the holding of any such meetings for such purpose without the sanction of the regular Committee.

## THE POSITION WAS SO RIDICULOUS,

And the contempt of the meeting so plainly written on the faces of the audience, that of his own accord he left the assembly without another word of utterance; and the good sense of the people of all classes present suffered him to pass out without even rebuke, and proceeded on with their business. "He had been hoist by his own petard." This illustration would not be complete but by connecting it with the future of this same old plethoric, good-natured, rich Boston merchant, member of the Whig party, who sadly bemoaned the loss of his personal influence over his neighbors, was ever willing to denounce all who early entered the Republican party. This is only one case of many, but is illustrative of the spirit of the few leaders who, in the last days of that great party, had got full ascendancy in its management. Heaven forbid that this imputation should attach to the thousands and tens of thousands of the great and good merchants of the country, distinguished pioneers though they may be of wealth and commercial power, whose hearts are ever in the right place, and whose only political fault has been to suffer the party to which they belong to fall into wrong and selfish hands. No party has ever stood in this or any other country, nor can stand and hold its proper influence and power over the people, which is and may be one of the most sacred of blessings if properly exercised, either by departing from its highest standard principles or in suffering itself to be led from its real practical bearings by selfish leaders, either under the control of monopolists of wealth, or the simple love of despotic power and dominion. There are always paroxysms of party as well as spasmodic changes in commercial life, and generally both arise from the same primary causes, affecting the moral status of worldly prosperity. In the one case it is by an unnatural and overstrained assumed control and use of the mind and muscle of a pros-

pering country, without its consent, and in the other it is by just such an unjustifiable use of the means of business, capital or profits of commercial enterprise at hand. The impulse and thirst for power in either case is natural, but its use to an unnatural degree is sure to produce reaction, trouble and disappointment to its votaries.

The *election in Massachusetts* in the autumn of 1854, as well as that of some other States, was really a compromise election, and its general character during the canvass, and its results, were well understood and acquiesced in by a large majority of the voters interested. It is not necessary to dwell upon that election further than to trace its national importance to the future of the Republican party.

Henry J. Gardner, the American candidate, "a temperance man of long standing," and a consistent anti-slavery man, was elected Governor by an overwhelming majority, while Henry Wilson, the regular Republican candidate, had but a small vote. This is fully accounted for under the spirit of the preceding explanation, by Mr. Wilson's election to the United States Senate, at the opening of the Legislature. His character as an active statesman it is not necessary to dwell upon, nor of that success which placed him, through the influences of a party he had so faithfully and satisfactorily served, in the chair of the Vice-President of the Republic. Massachusetts also elected to the other branch of Congress a delegation which distinguished itself, at least, as much as that of any other at any period in our history. Some of them won laurels such as no other son of Massachusetts ever wore, and all were distinguished leaders of the Republican party. The same may be said of some members from other States who afterwards filled both the Speaker's chair, as well as that of Vice-President. The State election of 1855, in Massachusetts, was intended to be a compromise election

like that of 1854; but the restlessness of some of the would-be leaders of the new Republican party, by their indiscreet action, destroyed by their own impetuosity the very object, for the time being, which they desired to secure. It was claimed by the friends of Gov. Gardner, who still largely held the popular vote, that by consent of all the leaders of both parties, he was to be re-elected, and that the great objects of temperance and anti-slavery should not be lost sight of in any sense, in the choice of all other State officers and members of the Legislature. For the purpose of union nominations, two conventions were called at Worcester in the autumn of 1855. These could not agree, as, evidently, there had been a packing of the conventions to defeat the object agreed upon by the leaders. After a long contest, the Republican candidate, Julius Rockwell, prevailed, being nominated by a majority of seven votes. This led to a split and the calling of an independent convention, which renominated Gov. Gardner, who was elected by a large majority. He was again re-elected the following, which was the Presidential year, but with more Republican than American votes. Gov. Gardner supported the Republican candidate, Col. Fremont, with all his energies. The beginning of the year 1856 was memorable for the variety of its political contests for ascendancy, in making up the successful Presidential ticket. Besides the regular Democratic claimants, there were many others representing the different shades of opposition. The old Whig party, especially in the South, though hardly keeping up its organization, looked to John Bell, of Tennessee, as a fair exponent of their principles, while Millard Fillmore, Commodore Stockton, George Law, Judge McLean, W. H. Seward, Col. Fremont and N. P. Banks, the Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and W. F. Johnson, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania,

were all prominently spoken of as candidates by their many friends.

The question with those sincerely interested in the *principles of the Republican party* was that such a union should be made as to consolidate all the opposition against James Buchanan, the probable candidate of the Democratic party, with a view to his sure defeat. The generally antagonistic and belligerent character of the Southern Democrats in Congress, aided by sympathy from their Northern dough-faced friends, which, culminated by the unparalleled outrage in the United States Senate, in the attack on Senator Sumner by P. S. Brooks, of South Carolina, naturally drew many friends of freedom to Washington for consultation. Many of those communions were held at the house of Speaker Banks, where were often met the influential leaders of the party, and friends from all positions and conditions of life, as well as many Union Democrats who were sincere friends of freedom. These meetings all proved earnest demonstrations in the right direction for freedom, and resulted in the call for the People's Convention at Pittsburgh, February 22, 1856, which in turn prepared the way for the National Convention at Philadelphia on the 17th of the following June, which finally nominated Col. Fremont for President. On the same day of the meeting of the Pittsburgh Convention, the National American party, representing all the States, met at Philadelphia. Rev. W. G. Brownlow, of Tennessee, called the Convention to order, and it was organized without delay and in a harmonious manner. No dissensions arose in the meeting upon any other subject than upon the slavery question; but here the sentiment was divided. Though a Northern man, Millard Fillmore, was nominated for President, and Andrew Jackson Donalson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President. The platform, however, could not be agreed upon, and the Convention

became divided by a bolt. It was quite apparent that many of the Southern members knew very well the great danger pending in the cloud hanging over the Union. Probably no body of men ever met where the sentiments of political union were urged with more strength than there. Many of the Southern members were moved to tears in their descriptions of the feeling of the South, and in delineating the dangers of disruption. Ex-Governor Call, of Florida, then quite an old and venerable-looking man, was fairly overcome by tearful emotions, and had to take his seat in the midst of one of the most touching appeals to the forbearance of the North on the subject of slavery, which was ever made by a Southern man. Many in like manner spoke of the Union, which professedly was to be maintained at all hazards, though slavery became destroyed in the struggle. It is due to these veterans to say, that quite a number of them, including Parson Brownlow, kept faith and remained steadfast to the end. Some, however, of the most brilliant speakers, including Percy Walker, of Alabama, who at that time made a loyal speech, found the opposition too strong for him at the outset of the struggle, and became prominent as a leading spirit in the Confederacy. The Union members who would consent to no platform of principles, except one containing a positive restriction of slavery to its old bounds, drew off in a body, and organized their meeting in another hall.

There was to be no more equivocation on the subject of a Presidential candidate, or the platform on which he must stand. This body, before separating, provided for a meeting of the

#### ANTI-SLAVERY AMERICANS

At New York, on the 12th of June preceding the Philadelphia Convention, which was to be held on the 17th of that

month. This Convention met early in June, to aid the nomination at Philadelphia, and a lively contest ensued, running through a session of many days. At the first ballot, it became apparent that there were many candidates of considerable strength, but it soon became narrowed down to Commodore Stockton, of New Jersey, Col. Fremont, then of New York, and N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, who finally got the unanimous nomination. Mr. Banks did not desire a nomination, and early declared to his friends, both by telegraph and letter, that he would not stand in the way of the candidate of the Philadelphia Convention, whoever he might be. Ex-Governor W. S. Johnson, of Pennsylvania, was nominated for Vice-President. After this nomination was made, the Convention had a recess till after the Philadelphia Convention. At Philadelphia things did not run smoothly, Mr. Banks and some others having nearly the same strength as Col. Fremont, who was finally nominated for President, and W. L. Dayton was placed upon the ticket as Vice-President. The Convention adjourned, with much gloom on the minds of the principal leaders, on account of the multiplicity of candidates.

### THREE TICKETS WERE IN THE FIELD.

And it was well known that though Mr. Banks would decline, it would not remedy the difficulty, unless another independent candidate could be kept from the course. Mr. Banks was on the ground, and gave a letter of declination to be used at the right moment, on the reassembling of the Convention in New York. Gen. Wilson and our Massachusetts members of Congress, with many Western members, headed by Hon. John Covode, of Pennsylvania, came down to aid in bringing about a reconciliation, and Mr. Seward and Thurlow Weed gave in their adherence, but some of the leaders from the West, who were of foreign

birth, were inexorable against any change of the ticket whatever in favor of a compromise of any kind. The American committee at once agreed to adopt Fremont, provided their candidate for Vice-President, who had been known as a firm anti-slavery man, was substituted for Mr. Dayton on the ticket. Horace Greeley, Mr. Seward, Preston King, Gen. Wilson, Thurlow Weed, and nearly all of the members of Congress that could be reached, agreed to the proposition, if it could be carried by the New York Convention. On this agreement, the members returned to New York. Col. Fremont was visited late the same night, and willingly left the whole subject in the hands of the two committees, who, so far as they were able,

#### AGREED UPON TERMS OF UNION.

The Convention assembled the next morning. Mr. Banks' letter of withdrawal was read, and finally the name of Col. Fremont was substituted, and the Convention adjourned with good feeling and high hopes of success.

Col. Fremont accepted the nomination of the American party, and expected also a nomination from the Young Democracy of the country, which was not effected. Some temporary difficulty arose between him and the committee of the Philadelphia Convention, on account of the form of his letter of acceptance, which he had addressed to them as a committee of a People's Convention, instead of that of the Republican Convention, he claiming, as it was called as a People's Convention, it was not proper for him to adopt the name "Republican" in his letter of acceptance. His letter, written in his own form, was finally accepted. Thus the great union of all the anti-slavery forces, in a National party, was at last accomplished, and the country, through that party, was to commence the

## CONFLICT FOR SUPREMACY.

James Buchanan and John C. Fremont, with Millard Fillmore, were the candidates before the people for the great office of President of the United States. The condition of the country, in many respects, was different from that of any other previous Presidential election, both as to the number and character of its population, their wealth and means of ordinary support, as well as the peculiar sensitive condition of the local public mind on the questions of slavery and other principles of moral reform. It may be truly said that the great stirring issues of both the previous great political parties had died out, and were not really living, contestant issues of the people in the Presidential contest of 1856.

## THE SUMNER OUTRAGE,

Added to the old question of the slave oligarchy, made that the subject of agitation in the North, while treason to the Government was already a fixed fact in the minds of the fire-eaters of the South, and full preparation, so far as it was possible on their part to make it, was going on. Preston S. Brooks had become, through his dastardly attack on Mr. Sumner, a lion at the South, and Northern Democrats did not, in many cases, withdraw their open sympathy for him, disgraceful as his conduct was, not only as a cowardly bully, but as a drunken blackguard. His challenge of Burlingame and others did not help him, even in his own sphere of rowdyism. His plea against the journey to Canada for the duel, on the ground that his life would not be safe in passing through New England, was the mere subterfuge of a coward. He was soon quieted in his thirst for a fight of this kind, on receiving, through a source well known to the writer, an intimation, in such terms that he could not well dodge, that a challenge would be accepted by the late Col. Lander, of Salem, who was at Washington at the time, to fight him on

his own hearthstone in South Carolina. His escape from this responsibility was through an empty boast, — the threatening to cane the Speaker, while the House was in session, on a certain fixed day. It so happened that some friends of the Speaker, from Massachusetts, occupied seats behind Mr. Brooks at this session, but had but little to do, when the time of action came, to keep the peace, as Brooks was so drunk that, in attempting to rise from his seat, he staggered; and at the loud command of the Speaker, in his stentorian voice, to "be seated," Brooks fell back in his chair, and did not rise again during the session. It was not altogether an accident that found the friends who were there to keep the peace, provided each with a good cane projecting through their pockets down the leg of their pantaloons. When the session was over, a Northern Democratic candidate for the Presidency took Brooks in his arms and carried him down the steps of the capitol that he had desecrated, and was never again to enter. His tragic death soon after, said to have been caused by the mistake of his physician in applying ice to his chest when congested, consigned him to an unhonored grave.

Few that have only seen the smooth side of political life, have an idea of the terrific scenes enacted at that time, nor the real perfidy belonging to the fire-eating side of the slave power of that day. But little doubt exists in the minds of many, that the celebrated "rat-poisoning" case at the hotel in Washington, before the inauguration of Mr. Buchanan, was intended to put him out of the way, that Breckenridge might be inaugurated as President in the beginning, and

#### THUS PERFECT THE SCHEME OF TREASON

He afterwards tried to carry out. The old gentleman nearly died, but lived to do more mischief to his country than all his predecessors.

The first indication of dissatisfaction with the united Presidential ticket of 1856 proceeded from some of the leaders of the foreign element of the Republican party in the West, whose restlessness, both then and since, in some cases, has proved a much more personal matter than of party importance or consequence. This disaffection aroused a similar one on the part of some of Mr. Seward's friends, who were disappointed that he should not have been the Republican nominee instead of Col. Fremont. The American section of the party went vigorously to work, and the leaders secured a fund of one hundred thousand dollars to be put up against the same amount to be raised by the leaders of the other party, to meet the expenses of the campaign. The members of Congress worked hard to accomplish the objects of this united work and in raising the necessary funds to carry on the campaign; but the money from the other side did not come, and in the sections most vital the campaign was conducted in a manner not to warrant final success. This, coupled with the fact that Mr. Dayton did not withdraw according to the agreement of the leaders of the party, made a split ticket; for many who had personally pledged themselves to this object were chagrined and mortified at the result, and withdrew altogether from the campaign. Mr. Preston King laid the subject to heart, and it is doubtful if his melancholy death, even after the final success of the Republican party, and his own political preferment to a high position, was not the result of a morbid influence engendered in his mind in the beginning through the disappointment in the Fremont campaign. No money was raised for the campaign of the Young Democracy, and their just effort went by default at last.

In the mean time the Democratic party went on in their usual mode of operation, with a well-organized constituency, ever ready to fall into the line of their leaders, and carry

into office in rotative order those who had been on the line of political preferment in past times without being jostled from the position for them that custom had established. They did not scruple to call to their aid all the

#### PRO-SLAVERY FORCES OF THE SOUTH

Or the priesthood of the North. The latter class felt it no violation of their sacred office to touch the superstitions of their flock both with the idea of the liberality of Democracy and the possible fact that James Buchanan had a drop of Celtic blood in his veins. Fremont was defeated under these circumstances, and the Southern Confederacy was assumed by the Pro-slavery Democracy to be a settled fact in the future. It is unnecessary to say that this could have been prevented by a more disinterested personal contest on the part of many of the active leaders at the North, and by a less jealous subserviency to the foreign element in favor of the unjustifiable assumption of some of their leaders that they were not sufficiently considered by preferment to office. The most hereulean efforts and great personal sacrifices had been made in advance on the part of the active members of the Republican party to harmonize all opposing forces within its ranks, but without avail. Some of the best of men, and most useful citizens in their way, had become dazed on the question of slavery through its long injustice, and their minds become cramped through that influence to such a degree as to become perfectly impracticable in the management of the campaign. Col. Fremont himself was put under such surveillance as to disquiet and lead him to remark to his friends that to be President of the United States he would not sink his manhood so far as to comply with some of the requests that the small politicians had made, which they seemed to consider perfectly legitimate.

A veteran anti-slavery man was placed in his house, and

but little could take place in the line of "political interviewing" that he did not get, until it became the habit of the Colonel to take his callers to another room whenever the veteran intruded himself in any marked manner which he was often in the habit of doing. In some of the States the ticket was run, as first agreed upon, as Fremont and Johnson; while in others, particularly in the West, it was Fremont and Dayton. It is difficult now to estimate what the consequences would have been to the country had Col. Fremont been elected. It took the administration of James Buchanan to prepare the way to a formidable secession, which the administration of Col. Fremont would probably have prevented. If this construction of probabilities be true, it is quite likely that to-day slavery would have existed throughout the United States. Thus Providence overrules the best plans, and sometimes what man, in his short-sightedness, thinks the highest destinies of the human race. The Norman conquest was one of the greatest military and political outrages of the civilized world; yet through that act, the Anglo-Saxon character was formed, and its social civilization has been established, which now penetrates and permeates the most remote regions of the globe, it is hoped for permanent good to the human race. Few, even of the sternest Republican anti-slavery type of men, would have taken the responsibility to purchase freedom from slavery at such a price, had they known the cost before emancipation; but a Presidential edict, that "Slavery must cease forever in the United States," went forth, and man, willing, or unwilling, was made the instrument of doing what we can now see could only have otherwise been done at the expense of the lives and fortunes of a million of men, and the taxation of a people and the government to its highest point of endurance.

The political condition of parties in 1857, 1858 and 1859 was such as might have been expected under the circum-

stances. The Democrats were in the jubilant possession of the whole power and patronage of the Government, and the Southern portions were confident of being able to

#### CARRY OUT THEIR DEEP-LAID SCHEMES OF SECESSION

Without much difficulty. They reckoned without their host. The Republicans, now a fully organized National party already triumphant in many States, were massing their forces for certain success or a Waterloo defeat. The Republican Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln was unlike that of any preceding one. It looked about, and then acted with discretion and a determination which none could dispute as genuine and true to the great end desired by the whole people not wedded to the forms of slavery. Mr. Lincoln was the right man for the time and place. His conduct as a man, a humanitarian and a statesman, both before and after his election as President, was such as to command the respect, sympathy and support of his own country and the world at large. He became a martyr to the cause to which he devoted his life, and his memory will ever live in the minds of the people as an example of the highest and truest devotion to a political principle which any party ever yet recognized in its chief.

It is not necessary, in this connection, to go into the history of the conduct of the war which opened at his inauguration, or to speak of its many temporary triumphs and defeats, until the whole South became a scene of devastation, and the North a settled recruiting field, both for men and means to carry on the gigantic but fraternal war. The great drawbacks in the contest were those that would be natural to come up under the circumstances. The restrictions to the word of command for immediate emancipation, though erroneous, were well meant, and were on the humanitarian

side of the constitutional views of many loyal Unionists, both North and South; but after all, through this neglect, the war was prolonged, and hundreds of thousands of lives were sacrificed, so many more homes made desolate, and thousands of millions of treasure spent, that all would have been spared, and saved if the great word had been spoken at once, "The slaves are free!" It may not be necessary in this connection to speak of the *hurly-burly* manner of the organization of a new and large army, and the mistakes made and the injustice done to individual character, often against the best advice that could have been given to the contrary. Is it not fair, at this remote time, to contemplate without being invidious, and form an opinion of what might have been the result of the war, had the advice of one of the young Massachusetts generals (Banks) been taken in the outset, to call out three hundred thousand men instead of seventy-five thousand, for immediate work in the field? Where could the Confederacy then, and upon what line, have established and maintained its "Manassas," which so long covered, and even sometimes with its Quaker guns defied, the advance of the Union army? What would have been the effect upon the Confederacy, if the advice of another of the Massachusetts generals (Butler), first in the field, whose commission was overshadowed by antedated ones to others for political effect, — if his advice, even when asked by the Committee on the Conduct of the War, had been followed, early in 1863, to send an army of seventy-five thousand men to lay siege to Charleston in its rear, in co-operation with the fleet in front, take it in a week's time, and then proceed to the interior and pass the hot season in the Pinerias, and join an army from the West in the early autumn, and then march to the sea, cutting the Confederacy in two, by the Tombigbee River, destroying all their connected communications, and producing the same effect accomplished by Gen. Sher-

man twenty months afterwards? What would have been the effect if the advice of both of these generals had been taken by the Government, in their respective places of distant action, to prevent, at all hazards, any commerce with the enemy for cotton, sugar, rice, or any Southern product whatever, until the rebels had unconditionally

#### LAID DOWN THEIR ARMS?

Why, on his death-couch, in the early part of the war, did another brave officer from Massachusetts (Col. Lander) deplore the condition of things then existing, and say to his friends that "the war was no place for a smart man, who was ever headed off by political partisans, that knew not how to perform their duty, and were unwilling that others should"? There is only one way to answer all this, which is, that it was the result of controlling circumstances through the weakness of poor human nature. All the passions were early in play for place, position, power and gain, and the usual jealousies and demonstrations were manifest ever, when anything lay in the way of their accomplishment. If young officers took great responsibilities, and were successful in their commands, when entirely beyond the reach or advice of superiors, they must be overhauled; and if they did not take such responsibilities, then they were sure to be censured as derelict of duty. An example of this is shown in the case of the brave Col. Roberts, who, on the first show of the treason of Crittenden, his superior officer in Texas, put him under arrest, assumed the command, and routed the whole of the active rebel army in that part of the State. Not getting orders or pay for his army for many months, and needing instructions for future action, he took eighteen stand of colors captured from the rebels, and proceeded to Washington, the first knowledge of which, on the part of the Government, being his sudden appearance in the Adjutant

General's office with his trophies, which he modestly offered to that officer. "What are you here for, sir?" said the Adjutant General. "Lay down your bundle and go back to Texas for orders." This is the sample of some administrative action of the Government, through the jealousy of its old officers, not yet removed from their positions. All these things show the difficulties under which Mr. Lincoln had to labor, which were not removed through the whole term of his successor, Andrew Johnson. When peace was proclaimed, and the victorious hosts were mustered out, and returned to their homes, many came with them who had justly earned distinction from the ranks, as well as those in the highest command. It was a popular theme of the people to compliment the returned soldier, and to dwell upon the bravery and patriotism of his service in the field. In some cases this demonstration went beyond mere compliment, and remunerative position was given to the wounded and maimed. In some cases also the soldier's voice was soon heard in the halls of legislation, and in high executive position. But is it not the fact that the spirit of honoring the living has been too often transferred solely to the graves of the dead? Has the Republican party, as a party, done justice to the brave soldiers who fought and maintained the Union so long under their charge? This question is a legitimate one for every Republican to ask, and then answer with future interest and emphasis. Massachusetts has done her duty in bringing the Republican party to the front, whoever may say to the contrary. Gardner, Banks and Andrew served the State well in its highest executive office during the birth and sponsorship of the Republican party, and the latter occupied that high and responsible position during its baptism of blood.

## THE FITNESS OF JOHN A. ANDREW,

And his integrity of heart and action during the most perilous time the State ever knew, cannot be doubted. His life went out through his zeal for the maintenance of the integrity of the State he represented in the great battle for the Union.

The election of the first general of the Republic to its highest executive position after he had conquered the peace so long desired and fought for, was a fitting compliment to his honesty, firmness and true patriotism, which has been denied by none after laborious service through two terms of the administration. This public acknowledgment at every hand has not been confined to his own country; but in a most remarkable manner has been accorded by almost all civilized governments and citizens of the world since visited by him. The name of President Grant will be known, and his character appreciated, as long as the history of the country shall remain a record for the guidance of generations yet to come. The general commercial relations of the whole country were pretty well established during the administration of Gen. Grant, and have continued to enlarge and advance under that of President Hayes, who has done and is doing his best to enlarge the sphere of all the industrial interests of the country.

The influence of a popular name, and the ancient organization of the Democratic party, was shown at the last Presidential election. The new Constitution had to be received as a settled fact by all loyal Democrats, and the old slavery issues, which for the past thirty years had been the strongest elements in binding the party together, were necessarily cast aside, leaving but little to rally upon but its name and organization. Few of its national principles had been real-

ized as laid down in the repeated platforms of the party that had been brought before the people for thirty years ; yet the reactionary influences of the war, and the traditions of the party, produced and brought out a surprising vote at the polls. The Republican party has a much greater right to the name "Democratic" than has the party bearing that name, so far as it is an exponent of the real rights and privileges of the people, and an active agent in protecting these rights. At any rate, judging from the text of its platforms for twenty years, it is practically a

#### • DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN PARTY."

The issue of State rights as they can now only be claimed under the Constitution, is as appropriate to a platform for the Republican as to the Democratic party. It will be the fault of the Republican party if it allows the Democratic party to assume exclusively any one of the great live issues of the day. There is not one point left for it which the Republican party may not with consistency adopt in its future creed. It is an obvious fact that the integrity of our National Government can in the future be maintained only through the integrity of the State Governments which comprise it ; the central reserving to itself only that power which shall ever secure to itself a perfect nationality, with power to maintain itself. Thus the Democratic party has not the opportunity to take to itself any exclusive principle in the administration of the Government which the Republican party may not assume ; while all the force of the old Democratic principle which for so many years seemed paramount, has expended itself, and that party is now left to gather strength from outside sustaining powers, or sink. It is not the same with the Republican party, which has live issues at command, without going out of the sphere of influence it has worked in for a quarter of a century.

Emancipation of four million slaves in America was followed by the freedom of ten times that number of serfs in Russia. The policy of all governments of the earth is now against involuntary servitude, and in favor of free labor, as a principle. The United States now occupies a position which no Republic ever before possessed, in the minds of the civilized world. It is yet in its childhood, if not infancy, of rise and influence. With a territory large enough to properly sustain 500,000,000 souls, and a climate and variety of soil equal to the production of every necessary need, both in the way of food and clothing, or mechanical or artistic luxury, for the development of human progress, it should not fall back or restrict its civilizing influence over the whole globe. Its physical and mental force is equal to that of any other country, while its means of education already employed is not behind that of any other nation. The Republican party, like the old Whig party, is and will remain the party of progress; and with the proper attention to its further development, it can bring within its control two thirds of the voters of the whole country at an early day which are now in sympathy with it. The line of its action is already marked out, and the machinery of party is in good working order. If it does not make the mistakes of the old Whig and Democratic parties, it will be the dominant party for another quarter of a century. If it neglects the salient points in its own stronghold,

#### ITS LIFE MAY BE OF SHORT DURATION.

First. The principal work begun, has not yet been finished, for the Freedmen still need the fostering protection of a strong government.

Second. Free labor, which is the real capital of the country, must be nourished and protected as a special means of wealth and progress.

Third. Education must become both a practical and moral school for intellect and muscle, which shall at the same time elevate the mind, and teach the hands how to earn a livelihood.

Fourth. The laws of equalization must be regarded to that extent, that honest labor shall be remunerative enough to supply the proper necessities of life to the employé while it is enriching the employer.

Fifth. The rights of the middling class, artisan or trader, who really carry on the most of the business of the country, should be protected against the monopolist who would crowd him out of honest support.

Sixth. The money capital of the country needs to be so regulated that the small operator can secure a share of the same in his business without paying exorbitant rates of interest.

Seventh. Female labor, and the rights of women in their lives and sphere in general, should be respected by all law as a high trust to man; without which, any nationality will deteriorate and fall.

Eighth. The laws of temperance should be enforced by all the practical, moral and legal powers of the Government.

Ninth. Protection of the individual States in all their rights consistent with a strong central government.

Tenth. The protection of general industry by law, so far as to keep the labor of the country in active operation at all times for the benefit of the whole people.

Eleventh. The opening of the public lands of the country to the real settler, that agriculture should keep its place in the proper sustenance of the country and the world.

Twelfth. Such discreet expenditures of the Government for internal improvements as shall equalize the facilities of commerce and industry in every part of the country.

These points, as unstudied suggestions in form, probably contain the life-germ forces of the successful party of the country for the next twenty-five years at least. To leave the Freedmen without political support now would be like

### TURNING A BIRD FROM THE CAGE

In which it was hatched and raised, out into a pitiless storm to starve. Not only should they be protected in their political rights, but be educated to protect themselves.

The apparent conflict between labor and capital is becoming an alarming difficulty in the political and social prosperity of the country, and any party which ignores this question will fall under a cloud, and lose its influence with the people. The real capital of the country, being mostly its labor and property, must ever have an independent and controlling influence in its political management, when the people understand the question fully, which they are fast growing to do. The latter, which constitutes ninety-nine and one half per cent of the wealth of the whole, leaving less than one half per cent in real money, will soon gain the ascendancy. Wealth will become powerless against labor when a real conflict arises. In truth, there is no need of antagonism, and there will not be any when each element takes and keeps its proper place in the economy of the nation. The political economists of the world are now studying this question thoroughly, and it is hoped that such compromises will be made in all good governments as will satisfy the people and save conflict. The educational system of the country has become almost universal, and the willing appropriations of money are even more than is needed. What is now wanted, more than anything else, is a practical teaching suited to the future professions of the student, to enable him, after leaving school, to enter an advanced position as laborer or artisan. The equalization or distribution of the earnings of the mass

of the people, so that absolute want shall be provided for through the associative industries of the people, will not only, in a great degree, prevent pauperism, but raise the ambition of the needy to help themselves.

The great middling class of the people is the real nursery for the higher growth and maintenance of the Government, as well as of the population at large. Since the war this class has almost disappeared, through the great wealth and monopoly of extended trade and manufacture. They are the practical balance-wheel of the country, and their sphere must again rapidly enlarge. The small trader and the mechanic of twenty years since, who was in good credit and influence in his locality, both at the banks and business exchanges, where there was need of his influence, has little opportunity now to procure bankable paper and get discounts, or buy his stock on such credit as to leave him hope of success in his business, as of old. The question of currency and what constitutes money, is already before the country in an exaggerated form on both sides of the argument.

Whatever may be the ultimate legislation necessary on

### THE QUESTION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS,

Certain it is, that in the broadest sense, socially, morally and politically, the question is now before the world, and cannot be ignored, though the wisest may not know yet what to do with it as a final principle of action. The Republican party engrafted the question of temperance in its first platform, and it belongs to that party to nourish and sustain its enforcement, both by law and moral suasion, to the fullest extent of practical prohibition. The protective system that the old Whig party fostered so long, cannot yet be left out of our industrial system of the real encouragement and remuneration of labor. It is a proper maxim of both parties, that the public lands should be occupied by agriculture as

soon as practicable, and that encouragement be given to densely populated places to send their surplus help to farms for self-sustenance and support. The question of internal improvement is an acknowledged necessity of both parties.

### REPUBLICANS OF MASSACHUSETTS AND THE COUNTRY!

For twenty-five years, you have had a party organization, and for nearly twenty years of that time you have held the Government. The inauguration of your first President was the signal for war, and your first official acts were for men, means and arms to repel invasion and subdue treason. Your intentions had been misconstrued, your acts were falsified, and your future government was denounced as subversive of the civil rights of the nation. Traitors had surreptitiously depleted the arsenals, sent our ships of war to distant seas, and reduced the army to its lowest standard. Instead of coming into power under the progressive influence of peace, with hopes and intentions of uniting the strength of your party in the true development of the unbounded resources of the country, you were required at first to hazard all in the maintenance of the Government you had sworn to support, by meeting force with force, and battling the worst passions that human nature was heir to, or let the Union be destroyed. In this conflict, the highest ideal of a country's moral and religious growth must for a time be clouded by the constant call to arms and the conflicts of the battle-fields of anguish and death. How you fought those battles, how the consolidated forces of the Union at last triumphed, and how peace was restored, is matter of extended history that it is not my duty or privilege to transcribe.

It may be justly assumed that whatever of wrong was done, or error advanced, in this long and trying conflict, was chargeable to accident rather than motive. It will not for a

moment be admitted that the Government or party in power ever intended a wrong or knowingly permitted an act which was inconsistent with its ever-declared principles and high purposes.

When treason was extinguished, the Government reconstructed, and the greater portion of the industries of the country became employed in peaceful occupations, then a new work began, which it may be your privilege to finish. The credit of the Government must be maintained, a permanent financial policy established with the people, commercial prosperity revived, and agriculture and manufactures enlarged and protected. This is all a work of time, and cannot now be accomplished by one political party alone; and your own immediate action will determine how far it will be your privilege to work out these problems.

#### YOUR SOLDIERS WERE FROM THE PEOPLE.

And are still loyal. They were ever valiant and intrepid on the battle-field, and with proper appreciation and support will stand by you in both making and sustaining your laws. The people are as appreciative of the advantages of peace as they were ready for the conflicts of unavoidable war. They are willing to be led, yea, be bound by silken cords, however strong, but will not be driven, or submit to chains. Thus intellect, intelligence, bone and muscle, with devoted hearts and patriotic will, are all at your service if guided aright and supported with sympathy and love; but their instincts repel avaricious greed, which can only be fed at their expense. Against this they will as soon rebel as at any attempts for the destruction of the Government. The resources of the country are unbounded, and a united people can develop them as no nationality ever before did. Peace and plenty can be found at every door when the blessings of life are distributed properly. There may then be

rich men as well as poor men, there will be good citizens as well as bad ones. The successful laws of life are imperative, and the history of the world in the past should ever be a sufficient guide to the present as to how the laws should be framed and administered.

Nations have risen in the past with pillared temples and gilded domes, that are now fallen to decay, and their crumbled walls form the dust of the sporting winds of desert wastes. Our country affords a broader field of action, and a more valuable one in treasure, than any historic one that ever preceded it. Its capacity and wealth are all needed for the development of a free people, with a mental and moral compass, suited to civilization and a christianized nation, such as has never before existed on the face of the earth. Political party ever has, and should have, influence upon civil government in any form. How great the need and how sure the reward, if the future of the Republican party of the United States became the instrument of union, both in avoiding the errors of the past and combining such virtues as would secure to the next generation the blessings that should properly result from the industry and patriotism of their fathers!

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#### GEN. BANKS' TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS.

It is an unusual summons that calls us together. Political parties are usually of such tortuous paths and sluggish growth, that it is not always easy to trace their origin, to discern their precise objects, or discover their founders. No such embarrassment rests upon us. The career of the Republican party of the United States has been steady and luminous. It has commanded the fixed attention and observation of the family of nations, and the celebration of its inauguration a quarter of a century since, will be interesting

and instructive to the friends of free government everywhere. If there be no precedent for it, it is our duty now to make one.

The quarter of a century which terminates with the present year, has been an eventful period in every part of the world. It witnessed the close of the great struggle for the freedom of commerce, and the contest for liberal legislation in England; for the recognition of nationalities and races as the basis of political government in the Salvonic States; the union of the States of Italy; the termination of the temporal power of the Pope; the Confederation of Northern Germany; the dismemberment of Austria; the creation of the German Empire; the extinction of the Napoleonic dynasty in France; the overthrow of the Ottoman Turks in Europe; the opening of China and Japan to the civilization and commerce of Christian States; the regeneration of India and Asia; the commercial union of the oceans and seas of the world by the Suez Canal; the international expositions of the industries of the people; the increasing power of the press; and the more general and higher regard for the education and liberties of the people in all parts of the world. These must be considered as among the most important events of modern history. But no one of these incidents in the progress of civilization, exceeds in interest or importance the simple and spontaneous act of the people of the United States in the organization of the Republican party. Could we justly measure its ultimate as well as immediate influence upon the welfare and liberties of mankind, possibly it might be said, without exaggeration, that it equals in importance any or all the incidents in the history I have narrated, which have commanded so much of the attention and strength of men and nations during the last quarter of a century.

To be justly comprehended, it must be considered as the

disinterested and spontaneous act of the people, without organization, without a knowledge of their numeral strength, without wealth, without the support of the public press, and without hope of success, except so far as it should be found in the triumph of the great cause it represented, the preservation of the Union and non-extension and possibly the ultimate abolition of chattel slavery under the Government of the United States.

Looking back to the helpless and hopeless condition of the opponents of slavery at the period of its organization, every friend of humanity in every part of the world must regard with amazement the magnitude of its triumph and the terrible rapidity of its consummation.

In 1854, the epoch of the organization of the Republican party, every State Government was controlled by one or the other of the two great parties representing the earlier traditions of the country. The new organization was obliged, at the start, to confront the sentiment of nationality, the political creeds of the long-established parties of the Union, the interest of capital and commerce, the prejudices of many of the educated and professional classes, and the interest of all people who were in any way connected with the dominant and despotic political power of that period.

Every department of the Federal Government, executive, legislative and judicial, its diplomatic and consular representatives, its army and navy, were under the control of that section of the Republic which assumed that the Federal Union existed by the consent of each of the States of which it was composed, and that slavery was a fundamental institution, without which it could not exist, which was never to be disturbed, and must be protected wherever the authority or the flag of the Union was recognized.

It represented the concentrated capital, the social and political power of the country. It had strength to destroy

any party, class, interest or individual that resisted or questioned its authority, or hesitated to support its monstrous usurpations and dogmas. And it seemed as if most of the governments of Europe approved its purposes and believed in its success.

It was with such a power that the Republican party was obliged to contend at the instant of its creation. In seven years from the period of its organization, these opposite and hostile forces met each other on the field of battle. Four years later that relentless and godless power, that for three quarters of a century had ruled this country with iron and blood, was defeated and destroyed. Its fields had been overrun by armies; its young men slaughtered upon the field of blood; its people decimated; its property destroyed; its slaves emancipated; its pretended chief executive magistrate, in an inappropriate and dilapidated costume, was a fugitive from justice, and the commander of its armies looking for some apple tree where he could surrender the shattered remnant of his forces, and receive the protection of the government they hoped to destroy.

With such recollections on such an occasion the boldest man may well refrain from exhortation or comment. It is enough for us to say, as Balak said to the son of Zippor, "What hath God wrought?"

The first Republican Convention was held in Michigan the 6th of July, 1854. Wisconsin, Vermont, Ohio and Indiana held conventions the 13th of July. Massachusetts held its Convention July 20 of the same year. Other States followed in rapid succession, and at the Presidential election of 1856, the Republican party, but for the brutal passion and power of its adversary, would have achieved a triumph that might have saved the country the blood and treasure sacrificed in the civil war. In 1860 its victory could not avert that terrible calamity.

The grand object of its organization has been completely established. The union of States has been preserved; the institution of slavery has been destroyed; the primal and ultimate aspirations of its patriotic founders have been completely realized; and other paths have been opened to other triumphs of justice, equality and liberty, of which men in other countries have scarcely dared to dream, much less to hope for.

The preservation of the American Union will encourage and strengthen the sons of liberty in other lands in their contest for the privileges we are still permitted to enjoy. Its destruction at the close of the first century of Republican Government in America would have left them helpless and hopeless in their battles against the despotisms of so many centuries and so many victories. The abolition of American slavery has already strengthened the hand of the Emperor of Russia, in the emancipation of twenty million serfs in that country. It has encouraged the Emperor of Brazil to ensure and hasten the emancipation of slaves in his empire. And its benign influence will not suffer let or hindrance in its onward and upward movement, until slavery shall cease in the Spanish American possessions, especially in Cuba, the last refuge of the worst type of slavery and the slave trade.

The triumph of the Government in the Rebellion will satisfy the enemies as well as the friends of liberty that Republics are potential in war as in peace, and the dissolution of the Union armies at the close of the war, with the instantaneous and peaceful return of the soldiers to the vocations of civil life, their readiness to assist in the payment of war debts, and the maintenance of the National credit in all its forms, will strengthen the faith of man in the practicability as well as justice of governments by the people.

The organization of government in the old world was

founded upon the principle that its subjects were bound to the rulers under whom they were born, and that their children, wherever they might be, were still held in an indissoluble and perpetual allegiance to the third and fourth generations, and perhaps forever (as their legists state the doctrine), except they are released by those claiming allegiance. The American Republic was organized upon the principle that human beings belonged to themselves, and not to their rulers, and ought to come and go at their pleasure. In the last quarter of a century we have caused our doctrine of individual liberty to be recognized, and that of perpetual and indissoluble allegiance to be abandoned by most of the great States of the old world. Fifteen or twenty of the European Governments have negotiated treaties with us, stipulating that naturalized Americans, though born under the Governments signing the treaties, shall be treated, while in their dominion, as though they were native-born citizens of the United States. We have thus changed the very foundation of the Governments of the old world in regard to the inalienable and natural rights of citizens and subjects, and the Revised Statutes preserves and perpetuates a statute which makes it the duty of the President, whenever any citizen of the United States, naturalized or native born, is wrongfully deprived of his liberty by any foreign Government, and in violation of his rights of American citizenship, to use such means as he may think proper, not amounting to actual war, to effect his release. This is one of the grand triumphs we have a right this day to celebrate.

While we have assumed and accomplished so much for the foreign-born, naturalized citizen of the United States, we cannot forget what is due to the native-born citizen, whoever he may be, or wherever he may reside within its jurisdiction. His rights to be are to be vindicated at whatever cost, and against whatever assailant; his right of free

thought, free speech, freedom of election, and freedom of locomotion and movement, without molestation, bulldozing, or resistance by anybody or from anybody, must be vindicated and assured, even though every battle-field of the Union is to be again contested and again conquered.

The illustrations of American character which the Republican party has presented to the world in this period, should never be forgotten. The name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the Martyr President, is a household word in every land. The fame of Farragut as a naval commander rivals that of De Guesclin, Von Tromp and Nelson. And that most fortunate and pre-eminent man, who successfully conducted gigantic armies through a long war, covering a territory larger than the Continent of Europe, who was twice elevated to the highest secular office in the gift of nations, and who has received, as a private citizen, the voluntary and well-deserved homage of rulers and people, of potentates, princes and peasants, in every civilized state, can stand unchallenged before the world as a representative of the moderation of Republican soldiers and the integrity of Republican magistrates. If, in impending calamity, his country should again need his services, his countrymen would not hesitate, on account of the evil example of other men, to confide their dearest interests to his patriotism and his honor.

The volunteers of the army and navy, officers and men, — for every defender of his country was a volunteer, — achieved a distinction which is without parallel in military and naval history. And in civil life it has glorious memories to be forever cherished, — Seward, Chase, Garrison, Samuel Hoar, Greeley, Sumner, Bryant, Andrew, Giddings, Hale, Burlingame, Wilson, King, the elder Blair, Covode, Stevens, and a starry host of lesser or greater luminaries, whose lives will light the way of men and nations in the paths of wisdom and justice for centuries to come.

## ADDRESS OF HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

MR. PRESIDENT, — The occasion which brings us together is not a common one. Let us congratulate ourselves that we are members of the Republican party. Let us enjoy in memory its early conflicts and its later triumphs. Its career has been a succession of moral and political victories. What is done is irrevocable, and what remains is sure to be accomplished, either by ourselves or by others. We have abolished slavery, we have preserved the Union, we have reconstructed the Government, we have made American citizenship a common birthright, we have created a nationality which is distinct, of definite powers and of absolute authority within its own domain, and this without limiting or impairing the just sovereignty of States. No other party has done so much, and vain is the hope that any other party can do more.

In this country the life of a political party, as a party of power and of administration, has rarely exceeded thirty years. The Revolutionary party, of which Washington was the chief, had its origin in the contests over the Stamp Act and the Writs of Assistance, and it ended with the administration of John Adams.

Mr. Jefferson was the founder of a new party with new ideas, which held power through the administration of James Monroe; and, without a serious shock to the truth of history, it may be said to have embraced that of John Quincy Adams also.

Next came the era of Gen. Jackson, the founder of a party whose signal peculiarities in the beginning were extraordinary personality in the chief and the broadest declarations in favor of human rights as far as the white race only were concerned. The personal influence of Gen. Jackson ended with the administration of Martin Van Buren,

and the era closed with the administration of James Buchanan.

The compromise measures of 1850, designed as concessions to slavery, were in fact most important contributions to the cause of human liberty; but the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, in May, 1854, made it the duty of patriotic citizens to organize a National party of freedom.

In Massachusetts, the actual, living organization of the Republican party, which continues to this day, was postponed to the year 1855; but the year 1854 is memorable for numerous declarations, both personal and public, of individual and organized resistance to the aggressions of slavery. The year 1854 bears that relation to the Republican party organized, which the year 1776 bears to the National Government under which we are living. It was a year of declarations, a year of solemn pledges, a year when thoughtful and serious men renounced the errors of the past and turned their steps toward new and untried ways.

In the quarter of a century now ending, the Republican party has been in power for nearly twenty years, power constitutionally acquired always, and always constitutionally exercised.

It is not too much to say that if all the events of our National life from 1789 to 1860, had been crowded into one ten years, they would have been inferior in magnitude, in variety and in importance, to the events that occurred from 1860 to 1870.

Gen. Cushing said to me that he had enjoyed the acquaintance of three generations of public men in the Government of this country, and that the soldiers and statesmen of Lincoln's time were the ablest that he had known.

Our record as a party is a brilliant one, but it is not complete. We have abolished slavery, we have saved the Gov-

ernment, we have created American citizenship, but we have not yet given to that citizenship the security which the National Government has capacity to furnish. Other parties may deal, other parties can deal, with questions of civil service, of trade and of finance, and while the Republican party need not neglect these questions, it is to be said of it that it is the only party that has both the disposition and the capacity to guard and protect American citizens in all their rights at home as well as abroad. And let it ever be remembered that, failing in this, we fail altogether; and that succeeding in this, we shall succeed in everything else. Let us, then, first and chiefly, and with our early courage, deal with the question which most nearly concerns the real welfare of the country. The spectacle of citizens fleeing from their homes, because in those homes they are persecuted, oppressed, deprived of all rights, and where for the wrongs they suffer, the law furnishes no remedy, is the saddest spectacle which a free country can ever present.

Our future as a party is with ourselves. If we dally with wrong, if we turn a deaf ear to the cry of the oppressed, if we consider questions of trade and finance, the commerce of the sea and of the land, as of more consequence than questions of human rights, if we neglect to exercise all the powers of a great Government for the protection of its citizens everywhere, then it can with justice be said that the Republican party has lived as long as it deserves to live.

But if, as I anticipate, we now are to engage anew in a contest for the equal rights of all men with the zeal, courage and persistency which were manifested in the great contest against slavery, we shall deserve and receive a new lease of party life, and for another generation keep the Government in the hands of those by whose efforts it was saved.

## LETTER FROM JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Col. Stoddard here read the following letter from John G. Whittier : —

AMESBURY, 9th mo. 12, 1879.

E. B. STODDARD, Esq. — Dear Friend : It scarcely needed thy note, or the stirring bugle-call of the Republican State Committee, to awaken an interest in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republican party. I fear I may not be able to be present on the occasion, but I cannot forbear to express my hearty sympathy with the movement. No one who has not, like myself, been laboring for more than twenty years to awaken the country to the evils of slavery and the danger of its extension, and the duty of opposing it at the ballot-box, can estimate my intense gratification at the rise of the Republican party. For some years we had tried to influence the old Whig and Democratic parties and induce their candidates to favor our object, and had been, able in most instances, only to obtain promises which were never to be fulfilled. In 1840 some of us, wearied with our fruitless efforts within the ranks of those parties, broke away from them and voted an independent ticket. The Liberty party afterwards merged in the Free Soil party, and that in the party whose formation twenty-five years ago is now justly deemed worthy of celebration. From the outset I looked to the ballot-box, as under God, the chief instrumentality for arresting the progress of slavery, differing in this respect from some of my esteemed associates in the anti-slavery cause. I trust I may be pardoned the egotism of quoting word: written nearly forty years ago : "The dead-letter of Republicanism must be made a living truth. Slavery is mighty, but it can be overthrown if, in the name of God and humanity, we bring the mighty ballot-box of a kingless people to bear upon it." The Republican party has done a noble work, but it has still its mission and its duties.

It is as necessary now as it has ever been. It must be maintained until the ballot-box everywhere is safe from violence or intimidation, and the civil rights of every class of American citizens are made secure beyond the possibility of suppression or infringement.

I am truly thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

#### GEORGE WM. CURTIS' LETTER.

ASHFIELD, Mass., Sept. 11, 1879.

WM. S. B. HOPKINS, Esq. — Dear Sir: I am very much honored by your invitation to unite in the congratulatory meeting upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Republican party, and I am very sorry that my engagements compel me to decline. Massachusetts itself is the perpetual justification of the Republican party. Since the party was formed the State has been almost constantly under Republican control, and no State in the Union has been more truly a model Republic. May your meeting stimulate both the State and the party by ever-increasing love of liberty and love of country, by intelligence and courage and fidelity to the Constitution. May Massachusetts lead the way in making the future of the Republican party as glorious as its past.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE WM. CURTIS.

#### GEN. A. E. BURNSIDE,

Of Rhode Island, came next. He was introduced with a graceful reference to his career as a soldier and a senator, and he was received with cheers and applause, which were renewed after they had once subsided. When quiet had been restored, he said, —

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — I am very glad to be with you to-night, to join with you in this great celebration of the

organization of the Republican party ; but I will not by any feeble words of mine mar the impressions which have been left in your minds by the elaborate and eloquent presentations of the gentlemen who have just preceded me. I may be pardoned for saying to you, however, that you are now on the eve of a most important convention. The advocates and friends of the rival candidates will join issue in that convention ; there will be great contention there, and the result, whatever it may be, will cause great disappointment ; but it is the duty of every Republican to bury all resentment and all disappointment, and move forward harmoniously to victory. The State of Massachusetts is a Republican State, and it will be the fault of the Republican party if the State ticket nominated to-morrow is not elected ; if such be the result they will have nobody to blame for it but themselves. I, therefore, counsel you to act together in harmony and elect your ticket, as you can do, thus gaining a victory which will assist materially in the national contest which occurs next year.

HON. MARSHALL JEWELL,

Who was cordially welcomed, remarked that the exercises of the evening take us back to the origin of the Republican party, but that they also called up to his mind what that party should do now. When Massachusetts took the lead in this work, we were compelled in other lands to excuse ourselves for being Americans, but for the last few years this has been indeed "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Before the war they taunted us with having slavery ; after it had been abolished they said we should never return to our normal condition ; but the Republican party has so changed affairs that while our six per cent bonds were sold a few years ago in Europe at fifty per cent on their face value, the four per cents are now gladly bought at par. They are asking of us everywhere, What can you not do ? They want

all we can make, all we can produce, and so, as a merchant, I say we have just entered a series of years of prosperity unequalled in our lives. I believe that we have but to make citizenship as safe in one part of the country as in another to bring our nation to what it should be, to put it in the position of the leading agricultural and commercial country in the world.

#### ADDRESS OF SENATOR DAWES.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, — Whatever uncertainty there may be about the exact time and place of the birth of the Republican party, there can be no mistaking its proper place in history. It stands out in a grandeur of proportion and in a sublimity of aim and accomplishment which will make it ever the marvel of all ages. Looking back to-night over these twenty-five years, its origin, its growth, its courage, its sacrifices, its conflicts and its achievements, I seem to stand beneath the shadow of a great miracle which any words of mine would but belittle. I shall therefore detain you but for a single moment. There have been during these twenty-five years great crises in the National life, promptly met by the patriotic wisdom and valor of the Republican party, and pivotal points in the life of that party itself, which greatly tempt one into discourse upon this occasion. But the life and history of a political party, like the life of an individual, cannot be written till its work is done, and that time has not yet arrived. When it shall have come, and its course is finished, the pages that shall fittingly record the work of these twenty-five years, and their far-reaching influence and relation to the Republic, past and future, will be so illuminated that they will be read around the world in generations to come, with wonder and admiration. From the day of its birth to this hour its being has been extraordinary beyond parallel. No other party, here or elsewhere, was ever sum-

moned into existence by such an exigency as called to its feet the Republican party. No other party had such a rapid growth, or was ever nerved to its duty by such an unflinching courage. No other party ever made such sacrifices, assumed such burdens, or achieved such grand and enduring results. History nowhere records that it was ever before allotted to a political party to save the National life of forty millions of people; to emancipate and clothe with citizenship and political equality a whole race of four millions in their midst in abject slavery before the Government was; or to throttle the most gigantic Rebellion the world has ever seen, cheerfully sacrificing in the conflict, life and treasure beyond the world's measure of possibility or belief, and in its triumph lifting up the fallen enemy; to hold up the National honor and the public faith so high that no political trickster or dishonest demagogue could either touch or tarnish it; to substitute peaceful arbitration for war between nations.

What has been the secret of a power so marvellous for the attainment of such grand results, lies too far within the domain of philosophy of human action itself, to permit a discussion upon this occasion beyond the reverent acknowledgment that God it was who wrought this, sublimely, through these instrumentalities. The work of the Republican party is so impressed upon every phase of National life for the last twenty-five years, that neither history, nor philosophy, nor statesmanship can turn to any side of it and escape a study of the moulding and shaping influences of that party. And through all that work are recorded the names of great historic characters and heroes, and of martyrs now gone to their immortal reward. Sumner and Wilson and Andrew, the elder Hoar, Hopkins and Burlingame, began that work here in Massachusetts, and to-night we have to follow and confide. Lincoln and Seward and Chase, joining them, made broad and comprehensive as the Nation itself

that which was merely local here. All these in God's own time, and at a time when, to human foresight, it appeared that such could least be spared, have been taken from this work, but their mantle and their teachings are still with us, and the work goes on.

Mr. President, I count it the chief honor of my life that I have stood from the day of its birth in the rank and file of such a glorious party, under such a glorious leadership, and beneath such a banner. And so long as that party shall be true to itself, and its traditions, so long as it shall heed the teachings of those who have gone before, with it and its work I am content to abide.

HON. STEPHEN M. ALLEN,

Who presided over the first Republican Convention on the Common at Worcester, in 1854, was next introduced by General Banks, who spoke of the fact that that gentleman was a member of the coalition legislature of 1851, which elected Charles Sumner to the United States Senate. Mr. Allen presented his "History of the Rise and Progress of the Republican Party," prepared at the request of the State Central Committee, which formed a carefully printed and neatly bound pamphlet of goodly size, saying jocosely that he would thus make the longest speech of the evening in the shortest time. He recalled the early political events of the party with which he was familiar, referring to many of those now dead, and concluding with the sentiment, "Whatever dissensions there may be in its ranks about Gubernatorial candidates the present year, long live the Republican party of the State of Massachusetts!"

The next speaker was

HON. GEORGE B. LORING,

Who facetiously remarked at the outset, that he was not one of those who were born with the Republican party, yet

at a moment's notice he was called upon to rival the experience of the leaders of that party who were thanking God that they had been members of the Republican party since its birth. Dr. Loring then stated the reasons which induced him to leave the Democratic party and identify himself with the Republican party, which he found was guiding the moral thought of the people. He congratulated that party in the work it had accomplished ; and in conclusion, appealed to all good men to remain true to the honest purposes of the Republican party.

## CLOSING SPEECHES.

Hon. Lewis Barker, of Maine, was introduced, and created a deal of laughter by his pointed remarks about the manner in which the committee of arrangements had induced him to appear on the platform. He did not come to the hall to speak, but to see how a meeting of this kind is conducted, as they intend to have a similar occasion in Maine before a great while. He said he, like Dr. Loring, was not a convert to the Republican party until Fort Sumter was fired on. Then he cast his lot with the Republican party, and has always remained true in the ranks. He referred pleasantly to the former relations of Massachusetts and Maine, the mother and daughter, and then spoke of the kind of talk the North gave the South during the trying scenes of the war. The South had talked most of the time for three quarters of a century, and when we met them on their own ground, and in their own language, we showed them the material of which we are made, and they cried, enough. But they were not satisfied ; they still seek to rule the whole Nation and to crush out the freedom of the ballot. Shall they be allowed to do it? No : the work of the Republican party will not be done until every man is protected in his full rights. He spoke of the recent lively campaign in Maine, where the Greenback heresy has prevailed for two

years, and expressed the hope that it had received a blow from which it could not recover. He spoke a good word for Governor-elect Davis, of Maine, a young man who, ten years ago, was a law student in the speaker's law office. He lives to-day in a house which cost four hundred dollars, but he is made of the right stuff, and within a few years will be heard from by the people of the country. Mr. Barker's remarks were of a very humorous character, and called out round after round of applause.

The Hon. Edward L. Pierce said, that although the Republican party of Massachusetts might be divided as to its preferences as to candidates, yet it was united in promoting the objects for which it was formed. The country looked to the success of the Republican party in Massachusetts, and as she had been faithful in the past, so should she assuredly be in the future.

At a few minutes before 10 o'clock, the meeting was brought to a close with three cheers for the continued success and future prospects of the Republican party.



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